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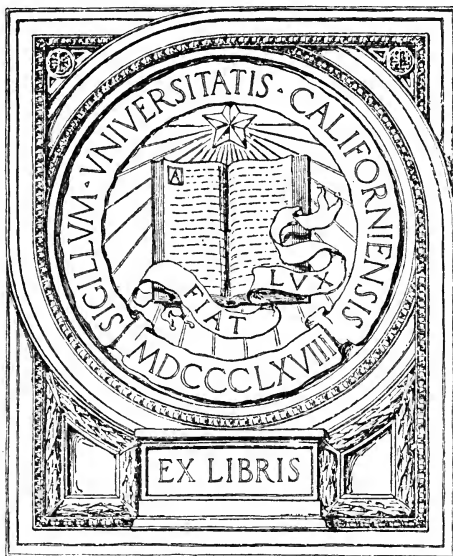
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THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LIT- ERATURE ON FRIEDRICH VON HAGEDORN

A DISSERTATION

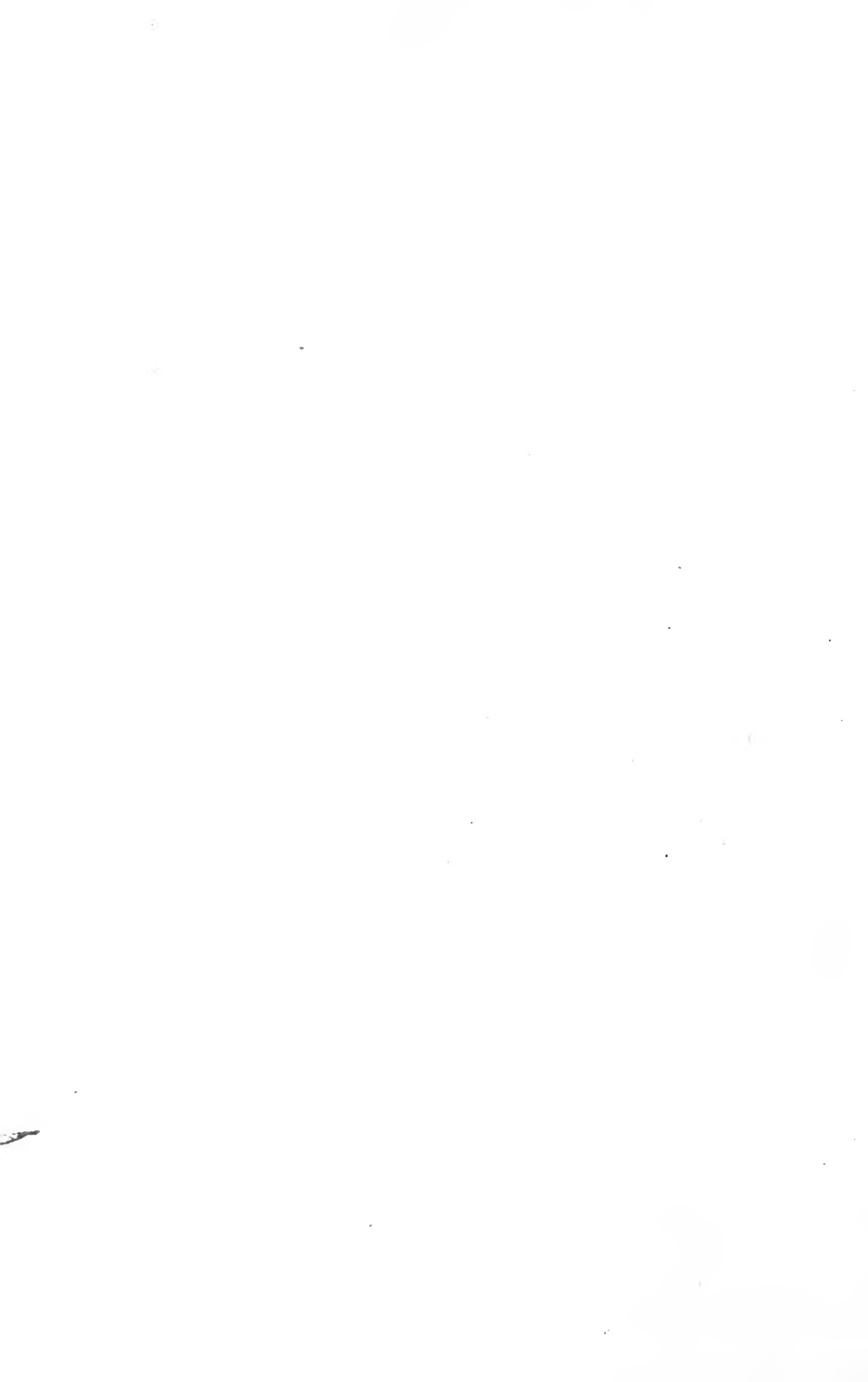
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES)

BY

BERTHA REED COFFMAN

Reprinted from
MODERN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XII, Nos. 5, 8, and 11
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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This is the first of a number of proposed studies on Hagedorn's literary relations. The subject was suggested to me by Professor J. H. Heinzelmann, formerly of the University of Chicago, now of the University of Manitoba. He has been helpful to me in many respects. Professor Starr Willard Cutting, Professor Philip S. Allen, and Professor Robert M. Lovett, of the University of Chicago, also have made valuable suggestions.

THE UNIVERSITY
OF CHICAGO

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON FRIEDRICH VON HAGEDORN

I

INTRODUCTION

It is our purpose in this study to show that Friedrich von Hagedorn was influenced by English literature far more than is generally supposed. The studies which have thus far considered his relation to England have all been very limited in their scope; Alfons Frick¹ concerns himself only with the influence of Pope on Hagedorn's didactic poem, *Glückseligkeit*, R. Maack² simply mentions Hagedorn's *Freundschaft* in connection with Pope, and Wukadinović³ treats in a more comprehensive study Prior's relation to Hagedorn, yet ignores altogether Hagedorn's didactic poetry.

No one has pretended to make a complete study of Hagedorn with reference to his English contemporaries, yet no German writer deserves such study more than this poet, who probably did more than anyone else in his time to popularize English literature in Germany and to make it an important influence in German literature.

The following brief sketch of his life shows something of his literary environment. On the third of April, 1708, in Hamburg, he was born in a home where the poets of that city were frequent guests. Among these poets were Brockes, König, Hunold, Feind, Amthor, Wernicke, and Richey, all friends of his father. Their wide interests helped to develop in him cosmopolitan tastes.

His father himself, Hans Statius von Hagedorn,⁴ after attending the University of Jena and journeying through Italy, had entered the diplomatic service between Copenhagen and Hamburg, where his

¹ Alfons Frick, *Über Pope's Einfluss auf Hagedorn* (Wien, 1900).

² R. Maack, *Über Pope's Einfluss auf die Idylle u. das Lehrgedicht in Deutschland* (Hamburg, 1895).

³ Spiridion Wukadinović, *Prior in Deutschland* (Graz, 1895).

⁴ Since the middle of the eighteenth century it has been taken for granted that the Hagedorn family belonged to the nobility, until the matter was questioned recently by Hubert Stierling in his *Leben und Bildnis Friedrichs von Hagedorn* (Hamburg, 1911). Our poet seems to have been very indifferent concerning his claims to nobility, though his brother, who became Geheimer Legationsrat in Dresden, guarded them very jealously.

position as Danish Konverenzrat gave him and his family recognition among the best citizens of Hamburg. During those years he collected a good library, which later became the property of his two sons. Although the books in this library were chiefly French, the friendship of the leading men of this city who were interesting themselves in English thought indicates in what direction Friedrich's tastes early turned.

After several years of instruction from a private tutor he was sent at the age of fourteen to the Gymnasium at Hamburg, where Fabricius, Richey, and Wolff were then teaching.¹ Through Fabricius and Richey, who were promoters of the *Hamburger Patriot*, Hagedorn early became interested in the moral weeklies and in English literature. As early as 1726 he contributed to *Der Patriot*² two didactic letters in elegant, thoughtful prose. These treated of the mistakes and follies of youth; of "eleganten Müssigang," "der Versäumniss der Wissenschaften und der Pflichten," "der eiteln Hoffahrt," "der Unmässigkeit," etc., the type of subjects which found favor in the moral weeklies of that time. This same year Hagedorn matriculated at the University of Jena, where he remained, however, only a year and a half. Instead of devoting himself faithfully to the law, as his mother wished,³ he spent most of his time studying literature and philosophy.

It was during this time that his attention was first directed to the philosophy of Wolff,⁴ which he called "der vornehmste Glanz, der den sonst einigermaßen dunkeln Zustand der Jenischen Aka-

¹ Stierling, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

² *Der Patriot*, No. 111.

³ His father had died in 1722. While falling heir to his father's love of literature, he inherited as well his failure to succeed financially; and this led him into much difficulty with his mother, whose thrift, sense of economy, and love of outward appearance made it impossible for her to sympathize with a person of his temperament. His extravagance and lack of interest in routine work caused her much anxiety, while his artistic taste failed to meet with encouragement from her. This is shown in her letters written to her son, Ludwig von Hagedorn, while he was studying at Dresden. These are of peculiar interest now, not only because there is a great deal of information in them concerning the Hagedorn family, but because letter-writers among women were rare early in the century, and because these letters contain interesting comments on the customs of the time, references to such everyday matters as clothes, food, and drink, interspersed with advice and admonition to her favorite son.

⁴ Throughout his life didactic writing made a strong appeal to Hagedorn. Stephen List in his *Friedrich von Hagedorn und die antike Literatur* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 2, has shown that our poet knew Horace even before he entered the Gymnasium.

demie lichte macht."¹ By adopting this philosophy, Hagedorn became marked as a progressive in the university circle;² for at that time the conservative element, which was very strong, opposed bitterly the new rationalism of Wolff.

When we recall the many points of similarity between the teachings of Wolff and those of Shaftesbury, his English contemporary, we can see how this German Rationalism prepared Hagedorn for the Deism of Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke.³

After his return from Jena, he brought out in April, 1729, his first collection of poems,⁴ a slender volume containing sixteen selections; the same year he secured the appointment as secretary to Freiherr von Söhlenthal, the Danish ambassador to London, serving in this capacity until the recall of Söhlenthal in 1731. He then renewed his effort to get an appointment, this time either in England or in Denmark, but was disappointed, until 1733, when he was made secretary to the "English Court" in Hamburg, an old *Handels-gesellschaft*.⁵ This position, providing a salary of one hundred pounds sterling, a free dwelling, a moderate amount of work, and a standing of respect, he held until his death, October 28, 1754. Through this position he had an opportunity greater than was afforded any other German writer of his time of keeping in direct touch with the English spirit. His marriage to an English woman,

¹ In a letter written by Hagedorn while at Jena (Hagedorn's *Poetische Werke*, edited by J. J. Eschenburg, Hamburg, 1800, V, 12) September 23, 1727, to Welchmann, the editor of the *Poesie der Niedersachsen*, to which he made several contributions. This edition will be quoted throughout unless it is otherwise stated.

² In the above-mentioned letter he wrote also: "Der Mensch ist eins der unauflöslichen Geheimnisse. Wir gleichen sehr oft den alten Leuten, die aus blossen Eigensinn, und der neuen Welt zum Trotz, in derselben Tracht einherziehen, die in ihrer Jugend gebräuchlich war. Die Neuigkeiten sind uns verhasst; unsere Fehler sind uns Tugenden: *abundamus dulcibus vitiis*. Neue Erfindungen in den Wissenschaften sind der menschlichen Trägheit und Einbildung entgegen."

³ Hagedorn's reading of the English moral weeklies, also, had aided in acquainting him with the deistic writers.

⁴ *F. von H. Versuch einiger Gedichte, oder erlesene Proben poetische Nebenstunden*. Hagedorn was induced by his friends to print these poems, but wished very soon afterward that he had not allowed them to be published. Later, in preparing the complete edition of his works, Hagedorn omitted most of those which had appeared in 1729, and used those which were included merely as a basis for new poems. Throughout his life he expressed the wish frequently that he might destroy them. Cf. Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 36, Anmerkung, also V, 86.

⁵ Stierling, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Elizabeth Butler, the daughter of the English court tailor, formed one more bond to unite him to England.¹

As we have seen, from his earliest childhood to the time of his death he was surrounded by men interested in bringing English literature to Germany. Chief among those of the early group was Brockes, who made the first German translation of Thomson's *Seasons*. Associated with Brockes in the publication of *Der Patriot* were Richey, already mentioned as a promoter of this paper, and König, its founder, both of whom we have referred to as friends of his father during his own childhood. The acquaintance of such men during those early years gave him, without doubt, the opportunity of hearing many a discussion of Pope, Thomson, and Addison. As will be shown in the following sections, Hagedorn later became associated with these men in disseminating English literature throughout Germany by means of the moral weeklies of Hamburg.

Among his intimate German friends of his later years should be mentioned Giseke, Klopstock, Ebert, Bodmer, and Salomon Gessner, all of whom were strongly imbued with the spirit of English literature.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MORAL WEEKLIES IN GERMANY

On account of the importance of the moral weeklies in Hagedorn's literary life, it is in place here to give a brief résumé of them. They were initiated in 1701 with Steele's *The Christian Hero*. This was followed in 1704 by Defoe's *Weekly Review of the Affairs of France*,² and later by the three journals founded by Steele and Addison, the *Tatler* (1709), the *Spectator* (1711), and the *Guardian* (1713), which became so popular in Germany that over five hundred imitations of them appeared during the eighteenth century.³

¹ We know very little about his wife, but Stierling (*op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.), who is the best authority on Hagedorn's home life, claims that critics have falsely represented her as old, hump-backed, and lacking in means, for the sake of excusing Hagedorn for his irregularities. Whether Hagedorn found her as unattractive as Eschenburg (Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 12) represents her, or whether he was disappointed, as Muncker asserts (*Deutsche Nat. Lit.*, XLV, 7), on finding that her fortune was not large, we cannot say. We know only that she was six months younger than Hagedorn (Stierling, *op. cit.*, p. 31), that she had a small fortune (*ibid.*), and that she nursed him in his last illness (*ibid.*).

² Defoe's journal was long considered the first of this type of literature, but Wilhelm Hartung in *Die deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften als Vorbild G. W. Rabeners* (Halle, 1911), p. 10, has shown this to be an error.

³ Maxim Kawczynski, *Studien zur Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jhs. I. Moralische Zeitschriften* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 19-40.

In view of the fact that court life was dominated by French influence, it is significant that the three most important German moral weeklies, *Der Patriot*, founded in 1724, *Die Discourse der Mahlern* in 1721, and *Die vernünftigen Tadelrinnen* in 1725, had their beginning in Hamburg,¹ Zürich, and Leipzig respectively, all of which were as far as possible removed from the courts.

The part which the moral weeklies played in Germany in popularizing both German and English literature is very important. Like the language societies of the preceding century, they advocated the elimination of foreign words and the development of the German language, emphasizing brevity, elegance, and humor.² They stood for a popular demonstration against French influence, not only in the language, but in dress and deportment as well. As a result of this agitation on the part of the moral weeklies, there were formed in every town of importance, as in Hamburg, societies for the purpose of discussing and working out the ideas which had been suggested in them. These discussions led up to the making of plans for better educational facilities, civic improvement, and advancement in every way.

Notwithstanding the attempts which had been made during the seventeenth century on the part of individual writers to free themselves from French influence, the fashion set by Opitz had persisted down into the eighteenth century. Such forms as the *Volkslieder* and *Puppenspiele* were scorned by cultured people. According to literary standards the people were divided into two groups, the one including the small cultured class, which followed French fashions, and the other a much larger group, which fostered the literature—if literature it could be called—which was written for the *Volk*. It was in uniting these two literary groups that the moral weeklies performed their greatest function in Germany.³ This was brought about by inspiring in all classes—for all classes of people read these weeklies—an interest in Shakespeare, Milton, and contemporary

¹ The peculiar importance of Hamburg in this movement will be more fully treated in the next section.

² The best of the weeklies suggested for private libraries lists of books, which included the chief contemporary English writers.

³ In this they performed a far greater service in Germany than in England, where the difference between these two types of literature was not so marked, just as the difference between the classes of people for whom they were written was not so great.

English writers. Just as the Franco-Prussian War at a later period united politically all sections of Germany into one great nation, so the moral weeklies succeeded in harmonizing the literary factions of the country and preparing the way for the classic period of German literature.

The long struggle through which German literature had to pass before it could find itself is too well known to need rehearsing here.¹ Suffice it to say that Hagedorn was one of the first of German writers to make the transition from French to English influence, thus coming into closer touch with the classics and at the same time gaining some independence himself. The period before the year 1729, when he went to England, is marked in him chiefly by pseudo-Renaissance influence and an interest in the classics; that following his return to Hamburg shows the effect of English life and literature with a gradual tendency on his part to become more vigorous and natural in expression. In fact, it was these English influences which served to heighten Hagedorn's admiration for classic writers, particularly Horace.

THE LITERARY LIFE IN HAMBURG IN HAGEDORN'S TIME

Hagedorn's long residence in Hamburg had much to do with keeping him in the forefront of this struggle on the part of German writers to break away from French influence and establish a real German literature. The importance of his native city in the literary and commercial life of Germany can scarcely be overestimated. It was fortunate in being able to keep out of the Thirty Years' War, so that at the very time when most of Germany was being devastated it was carrying on a profitable business with its near neighbors, the English and the Dutch. It was at the same time growing in an intellectual way, becoming a center of learning even earlier than Zürich, its rival in the early part of the eighteenth century in the introduction of English literature. The commercial relations of Hamburg with England made it necessary for many of its citizens to know English; some Englishmen visited Hamburg for commercial reasons, and others lived there. Its proximity to England, also, gave it an advantage over the other cities of Germany in the

¹ Cf. Max Koch, *Über die Beziehung der englischen Literatur zur deutschen im 18. Jh* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 6.

facility with which it could secure English books. In view of these facts, it is not strange that it was one of the first German cities to adopt, to any extent, English ideas and customs. *Die deutsch-gesinnte Genossenschaft* was founded there in 1643 by the purist Philipp von Zesen, and the *Elbschwanenorden* near there in 1658 by the hymn-writer Johann Rist, both important in freeing the national tongue of French words, thus preparing the way for English influence.

Hamburg was also the home of early German opera. As Wilhelm Scherer¹ shows, it was only in Hamburg that the original German opera attained any true and lasting success, more than two hundred and fifty operas being performed there between the years 1678 and 1738, and this at the same time that Italian operas were being performed in Vienna, Munich, and Dresden. Not until 1740 was an Italian troupe established in Hamburg.

As early as 1703 Georg Friedrich Händel went to Hamburg, where he soon became director of the orchestra for the opera. It was here that he composed his first opera, *Almira*. He spent considerable time composing music for pietistic texts in the Hamburg operatic style.

It is significant, too, that the *Volkslieder*, as well as the German opera, were still popular there with the middle classes when Hagedorn began his literary career. This is an important observation, for since the language and literature of Germany and England were very closely related, wherever the pure German spirit remained, English literature found a ready acceptance.

Again, Hamburg has the honor of being the home of the first German moral weekly, *Der Vernünftler*, which began its existence when our poet was but five years of age. As a further matter of interest to us, it was published by Johann Mattheson, who had formerly been secretary of the German embassy at London. This was followed in 1718 by a similar publication, *Die lustige Fama aus der närrischen Welt*, also published in Hamburg. Furthermore, Hamburg can claim the best and most influential of all the moral weeklies which were brought out by the Germans, *Der Patriot*, which has already been mentioned. It was published weekly for three full years, with 4,500 subscribers in different parts of Germany,

¹ *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Berlin, 1891), p. 388.

a large number for a German paper of that time. A second and improved edition appeared in 1737, and in this Hagedorn was destined to win his literary spurs. Of the older moral weeklies, Milberg¹ notes that this was the only one which took music into consideration.²

In the introduction to the third Jahrgang of *Der Patriot* it is stated that there was a Verein of men in Hamburg called "Die patriotische Gesellschaft," in which the material for each number was prepared for publication. This weekly had more than one hundred imitators during the century, most of these being published in Hamburg.

It was in *Der Bewunderer*, published in Hamburg by B. J. Zink, that Hagedorn's translation of Pope's *Universal Prayer* made its first appearance, but of this more will be said later. The fact that Zink was a tutor in Brockes' family during the time when the latter was translating Pope's *Essay on Man* and that he wrote an extensive introduction for it may explain the frequent references to English literature in his journal.

THE INFLUENCE OF HAGEDORN'S STAY IN LONDON UPON HIM

Up to this point we have had to do with Hagedorn's life, his literary predecessors and contemporaries, and his native city, concerning ourselves in each case especially with his English relations; the remainder of this section will be devoted to the general effect which Hagedorn's two years' stay in London had upon him.

By studying the social life of England and Germany as revealed in the moral weeklies, one can readily understand that the conditions which Hagedorn found on arriving in England were very different from those which he had left in Germany. Instead of the despotism of small rulers in a country composed of isolated sections, he found that freedom for which he had longed, and with it a far more cheerful atmosphere than existed in Germany. The slavish attitude with which the Germans regarded their rulers was reflected in the literature of the time. The Germans had lost confidence in

¹ Ernst Milberg, *Die deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften des 18. Jhs.* (Diss., Leipzig, Meissen, n.d.), p. 56.

² Probably this was due in part to the fact that Hamburg had received a special impetus for the fostering of better music through the inspiration of Händel.

themselves and needed to catch the spirit of sturdy self-reliance and optimism which was characteristic of the English. When one considers Hagedorn's love of freedom and happiness, he is not surprised that the poet was encouraged by what he observed and experienced in England to express what he felt. On September 19, 1748, he wrote to Bodmer:¹ "Dass meine Neigung zu den Engelländern, bey welchen ich mich zwey Jahre in London aufgehalten, die einzigen Jahre, die ich wieder zu erleben wünschte, und die Liebe zur Freyheit, welche mir mehr angebohren, als eingeflösset worden."

Again, in 1752, but two years before his death, in a letter to Bodmer,² Hagedorn voiced his longing for England: "Haben sollen sie den Milton, wenn ich auch selbst ihn aus London abholen sollte. Wie wünsche ich, noch einmal das glückselige Engelland betreten zu können!"

Although there are published but few of Hagedorn's letters in which he referred to the effect of English life upon him, in those in which he does refer to it his enthusiasm is unmistakable. In a letter written to his brother while he was in London, dated September 8, 1730,³ he called attention to the inferiority of certain prominent Germans in comparison with the English.

It is important to emphasize at this point the influence of English life upon Hagedorn for the reason that it was only after he had been in England and caught the inspiration which came to him from actual contact with English people that the influence of English literature is shown to any extent in his poetry. It is significant that its influence is very slight in the edition of his works which appeared in 1729, just before he went to England, and very evident in his poetry of the next few years. Although acknowledging indebtedness in this early edition to Horace, Virgil, Ennius, Lucan, König, Wernicke, Günther, and Corneille, he referred in no instance to an English poet. However, there is no doubt he was early familiar with contemporary English literature, as has been shown by his interest in the German and English moral weeklies. It is possible

¹ *Ungedruckte Briefe in Zürich*; cf. Hermann Schuster, *Friedrich von Hagedorn u. seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur* (Leipzig, 1882), p. 13.

² Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

³ *Werke*, V, 21. Referring to "der gedächtnissgelehrte Kohl," he remarked, "Hier in London würde er und viele hamburgische grosse Lichter eine armselige Figur machen."

that he had not enough confidence in himself at that time to advocate ideas of freedom, friendship, philanthropy, and virtue, which would have been considered revolutionary in Germany. It is futile to speculate about it, but the fact remains that the influence of English poetry in Hagedorn's writings is but slight until after his visit to England.

It is as a writer of didactic and satirical poetry that Hagedorn shows the greatest promise in his early edition. Here and there are evidences of that graceful, gay movement, which later characterized his lyrics. This contrasts delightfully with the heavy-footed, wearisome style of his predecessors. There is at least visible here an attempt at progress in the manner of treatment. But there is not a single trace in this edition of Hagedorn as a charming story-teller, in which rôle he very frequently appears after his English sojourn. In only a few stanzas does he show his ability to write light, melodious songs. That love of freedom, friendship, and a cheerful type of virtue which is found in his later poems is almost entirely lacking here. Before he could give adequate expression to those ideas which meant most to him, he seemed to need to come into contact with English people.

It is not surprising, then, that our poet, under these circumstances, found himself in a very congenial atmosphere. The elegance of language, epigrammatic expression, wit, clearness and smoothness of style of the contemporary English writers made a strong appeal to him. We cannot but regret that the records concerning his stay in London are so incomplete, for such a genial person as he must have enjoyed greatly the social life in England at that time, and his account of his social relations with literary men with whom he came in contact there would probably furnish us with valuable material for our study. Among the English writers who were in London for a longer or shorter time during his stay there, and whom he may have met, were Pope, Thomson, Young, Richardson, Gay, and Mallet.

The wide scope of Hagedorn's reading of English literature, as indicated by the list in the appendix to this study, appears the more remarkable when we consider the difficulties encountered at that time in getting access to foreign books. Contemporary German

writers constantly refer to this fact in connection with their reading. Under these circumstances, Hagedorn's generosity in lending books¹ was especially appreciated, for he brought into touch with English many German writers who, under Hagedorn's inspiration, became translators, editors, and imitators, thus helping to disseminate English ideas throughout Germany.

The list of books which Hagedorn read indicates that he preferred in general the writers who followed classic ideals. It shows, too, that he was open to new impressions, and that he was a man of wide interests. As we follow up the lines of thought suggested by these names, it will be interesting to see what writers influenced him most.

In this introduction I have attempted to show only in a general way the impression which English life and literature made upon Hagedorn; in the following sections I shall indicate in detail how this influence is observable in each of the four types in which he wrote. These types will be considered in the same order as they were arranged by him for the first complete edition of his works, which appeared after his death in 1757: *Moralische Gedichte*, *Epigrammatische Gedichte*, *Fabeln und Erzählungen*, and *Oden und Lieder*.²

MORALISCHE GEDICHTE

In the previous chapter it was stated that Hagedorn showed in his collection of poems published in 1729 more promise as a writer of didactic and satirical poetry than of any other types which he employed. These poems were embodied in the *Moralische Gedichte*, which were first published as a whole in 1750, this edition appearing at Hamburg, as well as a second and enlarged edition, which came out in 1753. Before these poems were published together, most of them had appeared separately in quarto, as was the case with many English poems of that period; some had been printed several times.

Although this kind of writing is nowadays considered tiresome, at the time when the *Spectator* represented the highest type of cul-

¹ A sentence from a letter of Bodmer's of January 27, 1751, amply shows Hagedorn's generosity in this respect (*Werke*, V, 211 ff.): "Ich habe die vortrefflichen Essays des Hume empfangen; ich muss Sie aber mit Ernst bitten, dass Sie Ihrer Freigebigkeit ein Ziel stecken, weil ich nicht im Stande bin, selbige, wie ich sollte, zu erwiedern."

² The present study includes only the *Moralische Gedichte*.

ein Muster der besten Nacheiferung, und bekräftigt uns eine Wahrheit, die ich für jetzt so verdeutschen möchte:

Wer nimmer sagen will, was man zuvorgesagt,
Der wagt, dies ist sein Loos, was niemand nach ihm wagt.¹

Thus, in order to do justice to Hagedorn it is necessary to keep constantly in mind his idea of making his imitations not merely verbal, but "meisterhafte, freye Originale," as he called Pope's. This is fundamental for our purpose, not only in the consideration of his *Moralische Gedichte*, but of his other works as well.

HAGEDORN'S LANGUAGE AND METER

The form which Hagedorn chose for the *Moralisches Gedicht*, an outgrowth of the moral essays, is an innovation in German literature; for the German moralists preceding him had employed prose as their medium. It is significant, not only that Hagedorn employed verse, but also that he used in three of his moral poems the iambic pentameter, the form in which the *Essay on Man* was written. In one of these poems, *Horaz* (1751), he uses the heroic couplet throughout, while in the other two, *Der Gelehrte* (1740) and *Der Weise* (1741), he employs it at the close of each stanza.² In his use of the heroic couplet, as far as I have been able to ascertain, he is an innovator, borrowing from English literature and incorporating into that of his own country a form which has since been popularly employed there to the present day.

Five of the *Moralische Gedichte* are written in iambic hexameter, *Wünsche aus einem Schreiben an einen Freund* (1745),³ *Die Glückseligkeit* (1743), *Der Schwätzer, nach dem Horaz* (1744), *Schreiben an einen Freund* (1747), and *Die Freundschaft* (1748), the last four being in couplets. The iambic tetrameter is employed for the poem *Über Eigenschaften Gottes* (1744), and for the *Allgemeines Gebet nach Pope*

¹ "It is generally the fate of such people, who will never say what has been said before, to say what will never be said after them."—*Observations on Homer*.

² In passing, I may add that three of Hagedorn's *Epigrammatische Gedichte* are written in the heroic couplet, *An einen Mahler*, *An Murzuphlus*, and *Wohlthaten*, while a fourth, *Rath*, is in the iambic pentameter.

³ In assigning the date 1745 to the poem, *Wünsche, aus einem Schreiben an einen Freund, vom Jahre 1733*, I am following the chronological arrangement of Eschenburg (Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 75), who states that the poem first appeared in the sixth volume of the *Poesie der Niedersachsen* (1738) and was published in an enlarged and improved form in 1745. It would be interesting to know what reason Frick (*op. cit.*, p. 2) has for dating the poem 1743.

(1742) the eight-foot trochaic verse, which Brockes and Triller had helped to popularize.

An illustration of Hagedorn's desire to give a free rendering of his original may be noted in this translation from Pope. Strictly speaking, it is not a translation, but an adaptation of Pope's poem, for the use of the long verse made it necessary for him to introduce some material which is not in the original. To illustrate his freedom in this translation, it will suffice to quote a single stanza (I, 1):

Herr und Vater aller Wesen, aller Himmel, aller Welten,
 Aller Zeiten, aller Völker! Ewiger! Herr Zebaoth!
 Die Verehrung schwacher Menschen kann dein Wohlthun nicht vergelten,
 Gott, dem alle Götter weichen! Unaussprechlich grosser Gott!¹

The purity and beauty of the language which Hagedorn uses here should be praised, but for the epigrammatic quality of Pope's verse, which Hagedorn learned to imitate, we must turn to other poems, for instance to *Die Glückseligkeit*, his next poem.

Anyone who is familiar with Pope's didactic writing will not long doubt the source of such epigrams as the following:

"Es ist das wahre Glück an keinen Stand gebunden."—*Werke*, I, 19.

"Ein Kaiser könnte Sklav, ein Sklave Kaiser seyn."—*Ibid.*, I, 19.

"Der Reichthum, der vertheilt so vielen Nützen würde,
 Und aufgethürmtes Gold, sind eine todte Bürde."—*Ibid.*, I, 29.

"Was ist die Weisheit denn, die wenigen gemein?
 Sie ist die Wissenschaft, in sich beglückt zu seyn.
 Was aber ist das Glück? Was alle Thoren meiden:
 Der Zustand wahrer Lust und dauerhafter Freuden."—*Ibid.*, I, 20 f.

"Der Arbeit süsser Lohn, die so viel Gutes schafft,
 Der Schlaf, des Todes Bild, und doch des Lebens Kraft."—*Ibid.*, I, 33.

"Nur Tugend, die allein die Seelen mehrhaft macht,
 Wird durch Gefahr und Noth nie um den Sieg gebracht."—*Ibid.*, I, 33.

"Die Weisheit wählet oft, um diesen nachzugehen,
 Den niedern Aufenthalt, und nicht umwölkte Höhen."—*Ibid.*, I, 34.

¹ Father of all! in every age,
 In every clime ador'd,
 By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage,
 Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

Hagedorn had the original printed with his translation of the poem.

² The element of antithesis marked here will be recalled as characteristic of Pope's style.

It will not be difficult, in view of Hagedorn's use of the above epigrams, to convince anyone conversant with German literature of Hagedorn's period that he introduced into it a new element. It is a far cry from the diffuse form of expression used by the leading German writers of the time to the concise language quoted above. One of the most striking examples of this diffuseness is Brockes' translation of the *Essay on Man*.¹ Yet he too was deeply interested in English literature and enthusiastic in his admiration of Pope. But Hagedorn was the first German writer who was able to reject the lumbering diffuseness of contemporary German literature and to imitate successfully Pope's compactness of style.² The service thus rendered to German poetry by Hagedorn in introducing this new manner of writing has not been given sufficient emphasis by students of German-English relations in the eighteenth century.

Later we find the epigrammatic quality very marked in *Die Freundschaft*. The following are typical:

"Die wahre Freundschaft ist die Tugend Meistertück."—*Werke*, I, 70.

"Die echte Zärtlichkeit, die immer Lust und Schmerz
Mit andern willig theilt, kömmt in kein schlechtes Herz,
Und Helden, welche mir vor tausend Siegern preisen,
Sind Helden, die sich auch, als Freunde, gross erweisen."

—*Ibid.*, I, 71.

"Das süsse Vorurtheil, das holder Umgang giebt,
Macht, dass man nie zu sehr geprüfte Freunde liebt.
Ein Freund wird voller Glimpf des Freundes Fehler tragen,
Nur Frost und Falschheit nicht, den Grund befugter Klagen."

—*Ibid.*, I, 76.

Hagedorn's development in conciseness of style is observed by comparing his *Shriftmässige Betrachtungen über einige Eigenschaften Gottes* with his rendering of Pope's *Universal Prayer*, written but two years earlier. In this poem he uses the iambic tetrameter with the compact end-stopped line prevailing. It imitates the style of the *Universal Prayer* far more closely than does Hagedorn's translation of that poem.

¹ His translation appeared in 1740.

² By comparing Hagedorn's poems written after his sojourn in England with those written before it becomes evident that this conciseness which he developed comes largely from English literature.

The fact that he did not employ the heroic couplet throughout a long moral poem¹ until 1751 when he composed his *Horaz*² indicates further that the influence of the verse form of Pope and his school upon that of our poet gradually increased.³

In this poem Hagedorn attains a uniformly concise style, which surpasses that in his earlier moral writing, and which most nearly approaches Pope's conciseness. This can be seen best in such a stanza as the following:

Horaz, mein Freund, mein Lehrer, mein Begleiter,
Wir gehn aufs Land. Die Tage sind schon heiter;
So wie anjetzt die Furcht der blinden Nacht
Ein heller Mond uns minder nächtlich macht,
Es herrscht das Licht, und alle Lüfte geben
Der frohen Welt das eigentliche Leben.
Die rechte Lust kömmt mit der Frühlingszeit.
Natur und Mensch sind voll Gefälligkeit.
Ihr unerkauften, unerfochtenen Freuden!
Sucht keine Pracht: die Pracht muss euch beneiden.
Des Daseyns Trost, das Recht vergnügt zu seyn,
Der Kenner Glück macht Lenz und Witz gemein.⁴

In the foregoing it will be noted that each of five successive verses contains a complete sentence. A comparison of this passage with almost any of equal length from Hagedorn's contemporary, Bodmer, makes clear to the reader that a new influence—one for epigrammatic conciseness—was at work in German literature.

When we recall how few modern Germans write in a clear, concise style, the achievement of Hagedorn seems all the greater, for he had to break with both his predecessors and his contemporaries. And whenever Germany does give Hagedorn his just reward, it should not forget the English writers whom he never tired of reading and imitating.

¹ See above, p. 180.

² The use of the heroic couplet at the close of each stanza in both *Der Gelehrte* and *Der Weise*, several years before *Horaz*, was a step in that direction.

³ Evidently Frick (*op. cit.*, p. 2) was not taking into consideration the form of Pope's verse when he stated that the influence of the latter upon Hagedorn began to wane after the publication of *Glückseligkeit*.

⁴ *Werke*, I, 97.



HAGEDORN'S PHILOSOPHY OF HAPPINESS

In the very first lines of the poem, *Wünsche aus einem Schreiben an einen Freund*, is expressed the essence of Hagedorn's philosophic thought, the essence of Deism as well:

Um diese Pilgerschaft vergnüglich zu vollenden,
Die mich von der Geburt bis zur Verwesung bringt,
Darf Ehre, Schein und Wahn nie meine Seele blenden,
Die nicht mit Träumen spielt, und nach dem Wesen ringt.¹

This is the fundamental thought of this poem and of all Hagedorn's didactic writing. The important thing with him is the soul, which should not be blinded by any outside influences that might keep it from attaining its perfection. It is the same philosophy which Pope expressed in the Fourth Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, and it is the underlying thought in all his didactic poetry. In this connection take the following lines from the *Essay on Man*.²

What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,
The soul's calm sunshine, and the heart-felt joy,
Is virtue's prize.

and again ll. 79-80:

Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,
Lie in three words, Health, Peace, and Competence.

The following lines from Hagedorn's *Wünsche*³ may have been suggested to him by the lines quoted above:

Es sey mein Ueberfluss, nicht vieles zu verlangen;
Mein Ruhm, mein liebster Ruhm, Vernunft und Billigkeit:
Soll ich ein Mehres noch, bald oder spät empfangen,
So steh ein Theil davon zu andrer Dienst bereit.

Pope made moderation the theme of the entire Third Epistle of his *Moral Essays*; it is significant that Hagedorn emphasized the same thought throughout his work.⁴

The second stanza of *Wünsche* is packed with ideas which were for him fundamental in all his writing (I, 38):

¹ *Werke*, I, 37.

² Ep. IV, ll. 167-69.

³ *Werke*, I, 37.

⁴ The following couplet from *Glückseligkeit* was cited as having the epigrammatic quality of Pope's. It will be noted that the theme also is his (I, 29):

Der Reichtum, der vertheilt so vielen Nützen würde,
Und aufgethürmtes Gold, sind eine todte Bürde.

Die Gegend reizt mich noch, wo bey den hellen Bächen
 Und in dem grünen Hain sich Ruh und Freyheit herzt.
 Dort konnt' ich mir selbst vertraulich mich besprechen,
 Wo keine Falschheit lacht, und keine Grobheit scherzt.
 Dort lebt ich unerreicht von Vorwitz und von Sorgen;
 Durch keinen Zwang gekrümmt, durch keinen Neid berückt,
 Der stillen Wahrheit treu, der Welt, nicht mir, verborgen,
 Und, Lust der Einsamkeit! genug durch dich beglückt.

The love of country, freedom, truth, meditation, and solitude are here contrasted with hatred of falsehood, rudeness, inquisitiveness, wrong, constraint, and envy. The ideas expressed in the stanza just quoted are the same as those which Thomson emphasizes all through the *Seasons*, which may well have been a source of *Wünsche*. To illustrate I quote *Autumn*, ll. 1235-49:

Oh! knew he but his happiness, of men
 The happiest he, who, far from public rage,
 Deep in the vale, with a choice few retired,
 Drinks the pure pleasures of the rural life.
 What though the dome be wanting, whose proud gate,
 Each morning vomits out the sneaking crowd
 Of flatterers false, and in their turn abused?
 Vile intercourse! What though the glittering robe
 Of every hue reflected light can give,
 Or floating loose, or stiff with massy gold,
 The pride and gaze of fools, oppress him not?
 What though, from utmost land and sea purveyed,
 For him each rarer tributary life
 Bleeds not, and his insatiate table heaps
 With luxury and death?

It is at least an interesting coincidence that Thomson, in the passage quoted, has included practically every idea found in Hagedorn's *Wünsche*: the same love of country life with its quiet, innocent pleasures, moderation, health, friendship, and leisure for meditation, and its freedom from treachery, flattery, falsehood, pride, inquisitiveness, and ostentation. Note also ll. 1273-77:

Here too dwells simple truth, plain innocence,
 Unsullied beauty, sound unbroken youth,
 Patient of labour, with a little pleased,
 Health ever-blooming, unambitious toil,
 Calm contemplation, and poetic ease.

It is somewhat surprising that up to the present no one seems to have considered Hagedorn in connection with Thomson, yet it is universally admitted that the influence of the latter upon Hagedorn's contemporaries was very great. It suffices to mention Brockes' *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*,¹ Haller's *Die Alpen* (1732), Kleist's *Frühling* (1749), Wieland's *Frühling* (1752), and Zachariä's *Togeseiten* (1755) in this connection. That Hagedorn knew Thomson is proved by letters from Bodmer and Ebert referring to him.² Then, since Hagedorn was a voluminous reader of English as well as of German books, there is every probability that he knew Thomson's works soon after they appeared. The promptness with which Hagedorn read English books is easily seen by comparing his notes upon them with the dates of publications in any bibliographical manual. And since both Bodmer and Ebert conceded to Hagedorn the leadership in matters of English, the fact that they had read Thomson makes it very probable that Hagedorn also had read him.³ Furthermore, since he had read many English authors who are known to us only by name, and who at the time were probably not read by many English people, it is extremely improbable that he would have failed to read an English author who was as well known in Germany as Thomson. Hagedorn's intimate acquaintance with Brockes during the years in which the latter was especially influenced by Thomson⁴ also points to Hagedorn's acquaintance with the English poet. Moreover, the similarity in interests would naturally have drawn Hagedorn to Thomson, since both turned to Horace for inspiration.

Though Hagedorn's idea of happiness is revealed in his *Wünsche*, it is expressed even more in detail in his poem, *Die Glückseligkeit*. Like the Fourth Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, this poem emphasizes

¹ Although Brockes commenced this work as early as 1721, it was not completed until after he knew Thomson's *Seasons*, which was completed by 1730.

² Bodmer in Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, 172; Ebert, *ibid.*, V, 259, 262, 266.

³ Hagedorn's generosity in sending English books to his friends has been mentioned previously. Despite the fact that one finds very few instances of Bodmer's sending a book to Hagedorn, the following indicates an established custom of Hagedorn's of forwarding books to his friend: "Die trefflichen Bücher, womit Sie Ihrer Gewohnheit nach, Ihren Brief begleitet haben, erhielten mich den ganzen Sommer durch aufgeräumt, und werden mir auch den Winter angenehm machen" (Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, 207, September 10, 1748).

⁴ Brockes' translation of *The Seasons* appeared in 1744.

that anyone can find true happiness and that it is attained through contentment, peace of mind, moderation, and a sufficient competence, not through riches, learning, fame, or power. Hagedorn insists that only the wise can be happy, while Pope urges that only the virtuous can be happy, but with the two poets these ideas are almost identical.

The chief idea which *Glückseligkeit* has in common with Pope's Third Epistle of the *Moral Essays* is that wealth brings happiness, not to the spendthrift or miser,¹ but only to the one who disperses it by giving or spending it wisely. And the Fourth Epistle of the *Moral Essays* furnished Hagedorn with the following ideas: Much wealth is wasted in laying out and adorning gardens, and in building and furnishing houses, by people who lack taste and culture. The only redeeming feature about this expense is that artists are benefited by the patronage which it gives them. Briefly, in imitating Pope, Hagedorn introduced the views of the former concerning human happiness into Germany and thus assisted in spreading there the philosophy of the English Deists.

In addition to the debt which in *Glückseligkeit* he owes to Pope's *Essay on Man* and the *Moral Essays*, which has already been pointed out by Frick,² its negative features show some significant parallelism with Prior's *Solomon on the Vanity of the World*. Both poets came to the conclusion that learning, pleasure, and power in themselves fail to bring true happiness.

That Hagedorn knew Prior is shown by his numerous translations of the latter's epigrams and tales, which he made soon after returning from England. Although Wukadinović³ devotes considerable attention to Hagedorn, he overlooks him entirely in his discussion of the influence which Prior's *Solomon* had in Germany. In his study Wukadinović adequately treats of translations and verbal imitations of Prior in Germany; but in the case of Prior's influence on Hagedorn it is inadequate, according to Hagedorn's own standard, to

¹ His representation of the miser and the spendthrift in contrast with each other and his expression concerning the futility of both has its parallel also in Parnell's *Hermit*. Further, in connection with Hagedorn's characterization of the miser, in a footnote to I, 23 ff., he cites *Henry VI*, III, ii, 3:

And happy was it always for the son,
Whose father for his hoarding went to hell.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

deal merely with translations and verbal similarities, and that is all Wukadinović attempts to do. The evidence in support of Prior's influence upon Hagedorn in this poem is increased by the fact that Hagedorn added to it the fable of the *Country Mouse and City Mouse*, a collaboration of Prior and Charles Montagu.¹

Although *Glückseligkeit* has much in common with Prior's *Solomon*, in spirit it is much more closely related to Addison's philosophy as revealed in his essays. Thus the *Spectator*, No. 15, reads:

True happiness is of a retired nature, and an enemy to pomp and noise: . . . in short, it feels everything it wants within itself, and receives no addition from multitudes of witnesses and spectators. On the contrary, false happiness loves to be in a crowd, to draw the eyes of the world upon her. . . . She flourishes in courts, palaces, theatres and assemblies, and has no existence but when she is looked upon.

Again, in *Spectator*, No. 243, "On the Beauty and Loveliness of Virtue," Addison defines his attitude toward virtue as the same as that which has been attributed to Hagedorn:

I do not remember to have read any discourse written expressly upon the beauty and loveliness of virtue, without considering it as a duty, and as the means of making us happy both now and hereafter. I design, therefore, this speculation as an essay upon that subject, in which I shall consider virtue no further than as it is in itself of an amiable nature.

It is significant that Hagedorn proclaimed for the first time in Germany, just as Addison did in England, the beauty and loveliness of virtue without considering it as a duty.² The German moral weeklies almost invariably emphasized the idea of duty in connection with virtue. It is of great consequence to find that Hagedorn's attitude toward virtue is the same as that of Addison and his school; but it is of greater consequence to observe that in assuming this attitude Hagedorn was following an English literary fashion of the Queen Anne period, and that he was popularizing it in German literature. Thus Hagedorn stood as an innovator³ in presenting virtue in

¹ This was written in 1687 to ridicule Dryden's *Hind and Panther*. Prior is supposed to have written the greater part of it.

² The joy which Hagedorn found in virtue is paralleled also in Thomson's *Winter*, ll. 555-71.

³ In their Anacreontic poetry Gleim and his followers, Uz, Götz, and Jacobi, owed much to Hagedorn, just as Pyra and Lange were indebted to Haller. In learning to write this cheerful type of poetry Hagedorn was in turn indebted to Prior, as has been shown by Wukadinović, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 27, 30. This will receive further discussion in a later section.

a cheerful aspect and in believing that every man could make of himself what he would.¹ In this he was a forerunner of Goethe.

Hagedorn was more interested in a faith which made life quiet and happy here than one which concerned itself mainly with the future. His *Ueber Eigenschaften Gottes* is in perfect keeping with the religion of the Deists. The first five pages being devoted to the greatness of God and the last two to his goodness, he might have selected for its text the second stanza of Pope's *Universal Prayer*:

Thou great first Cause, least understood:
Who all my sense confin'd
To know but this, that Thou art good,
And that myself am blind.

The fact that Pope was a Catholic and Hagedorn a Protestant was no barrier to their religious sympathy. Even in English literature the expressions of religion which come from Addison and Pope are not unlike, although formally they represent the two great opposing religious bodies. Deism had the power of uniting in a practical belief people of very different religious organizations, and it appealed strongly to Hagedorn. He thought that to gain the greatest happiness in this life the soul, unblinded by external things, must strive constantly for its highest development. Then we can look forward to death as a quiet sleep:

Darf ich mir noch ein Glück zum letzten Ziel erlesen;
So stell' im Scheiden sich bey mir kein Schrecken ein:
Und wie bisher mein Schlaf des Todes Bild gewesen;
So müss' auch einst mein Tod dem Schlummer ähnlich seyn!²

This philosophy coincides with that of Thomson as expressed in *Winter* (ll. 1039-46):

Virtue alone survives,
Immortal, never-failing friend of man,
His guide to happiness on high. And see!
'Tis come, the glorious morn, the second birth
Of heaven and earth. Awakening nature hears

¹ Cf. Hermann Schuster, *Friedrich von Hagedorn und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur* (Leipzig, 1882), p. 19: "Hagedorn war bei uns der erste, der die Tugend zum Werthe der allgemeinen und höchsten Lebensschönheit erhob und sie als das heitere Glück darstellte, wodurch das Dasein verklärt und jeder der Künstler seines Lebens würde."

² *Wünsche, Werke*, I, 40.

The new-creating word, and starts to life
 In every heightened form, from pain and death
 For ever free.¹

LEARNING

Hagedorn's poems, *Der Gelehrte* and *Der Weise*, present two contrasting types, *Der Gelehrte*² being a satire on the scholar who busies himself in mere quibbling in the hope of attracting attention to himself, *Der Weise*, a eulogy on the man who seeks truth, making it the basis of life. The "Gelehrter" is characterized³ as a person who finds his greatest happiness in literary controversies, in which he hopes to win distinction. The "Weiser," on the other hand, is represented⁴ as a searcher for truth, who cares nothing for fame or the favor of princes.

According to Schmid, the "Gelehrter" was not an uncommon character in Germany at that time:⁵ "Ich glaube eben nicht, dass dieses geistreiche Gedicht durch besondere Umstände veranlasst worden, wie einige behaupten wollen. Zu jeder Zeile kann man Beispiele aus den heutigen Tagen hinzu schreiben."

One needs only recall the literary controversy between the Leipzig and Swiss poets to realize something of the literary atmosphere in Germany at that time.⁶ With this situation in mind, it is significant on turning again to *Der Weise* to note the impression which the English spirit had made upon Hagedorn:

Wie edel ist die Neigung echter Britten!
 Ihr Ueberfluss bereichert den Verstand.
 Der Handlung Frucht, und was ihr Muth erstritten,
 Wird, unbereut, Verdiensten zugewandt;
 Gunst krönt den Fleiss, den Macht und Freyheit schützen:
 Die Reichsten sind des Wissenschaften Stützen.
 O Freyheit! dort, nur dort ist deine Wonne,
 Der Städte Schmuck, der Segen jeder Flur,
 Stark wie das Meer, erquickend wie die Sonne,
 Schön wie das Licht, und reich wie die Natur.⁷

¹ As a matter of interest I note that this coincides with Horace also.

² Christian Heinrich Schmid, *Biographie der Dichter* (Leipzig, 1770), II, 381, called this poem "die meisterhafte Ironie auf alle Pedantereyen unsrer Zunft."

³ *Werke*, I, 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 16.

⁵ Schmid, *op. cit.*, II, 381.

⁶ It should be mentioned here that Hagedorn kept himself entirely aloof from this strife, which he considered undignified and futile. See letter to Weichmann of September 4, 1741, *Werke*, V, 17-18.

⁷ *Werke*, I, 16.

It is significant, also, that at this time, when Hagedorn's contemporaries wished to be regarded as learned, he declined to be called a "Gelehrter."¹ In his introduction to the *Moralische Gedichte* he wrote:

Sie wissen, dass ich, von Jugend auf, am Lesen ein grosses Vergnügen gefunden habe, und dieses vermehrt sich bei mir mit den Jahren. Allein, ich habe nimmer ein Mnemon seyn, noch auf das Polyhistorat Ansprüche zu machen, mich nur gelehrter lesen wollen. Vielmehr habe ich es oft für eine nicht geringe Glückseligkeit gehalten, dass es niemals mein Beruf gewesen ist, noch seyn können, ein Gelehrter zu heissen, und wie vieles mangelt mir, um diesem Namen, und dessen Folgen gewachsen zu seyn? Dafür habe ich die beruhigende Erlaubniss, bei den Spaltungen und Fehden der Gelehrten nichts zu entscheiden. Meine müssigen Stunden geniessen der erwünschten Freyheit, mich in den Wissenschaften nur mit dem zu beschäftigen, was mir schön, angenehm und betrachtungswürdig ist.²

In this connection it should be mentioned that in the introduction to his *Moralische Gedichte* Hagedorn supports his views on this subject in several instances with quotations from Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, his *Observations on Homer*, and his letters. One from which Hagedorn quotes³ is pertinent here: "I would cut off my own head, if it had nothing better than wit in it, and tear out my own heart, if it had no better dispositions than to love only myself, and laugh at my neighbors."⁴

Another of the English poets who realized the inadequacy of mere learning was Prior. This he emphasized especially in his *Solomon*⁵ where he states that the little knowledge gained only bewilders the mind. Prior conceives Solomon's logicians as typical of those in the eighteenth century:

Soon their crude notions with each other fought,
The adverse sect denied what this had taught;
Who contradicted what the last maintained.⁶

¹ In Henneberger's *Jahrbuch für deutsche Literatur*, I, 92, Karl Schmitt makes an interesting statement regarding this: "Er ist wohl der erste Poet seit Opitzens Auftreten, der einen klaren Begriff des Unterschieds zwischen einem durchbildeten Dichter und Gelehrten nicht gehalten worden, während seine Vorgänger nichts mehr beleidigt haben würde, als ihnen diese Eigenschaft abzusprechen."

² *Werke*, I, 34.

³ Pope, *Letters to Several Ladies*, No. 19.

⁴ It has already been mentioned (see above, p. 186) that one of the fundamental thoughts in the Fourth Epistle of the *Essay on Man* is that happiness cannot be gained through learning.

⁵ Book I, ll. 739-42, also 748-53.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Book I, ll. 717-20.

The evidence certainly suggests that this section of Prior's poem was one of the sources of Hagedorn's *Der Gelehrte*.

Hagedorn's scorn for mere pedantry is further expressed in his poem *Wünsche*.¹

Was nützt Belesenheit, was die Gedächtnissbürde,
Die Schreib- und Ruhmbegier aus tausend Büchern rafft ?

In the preceding stanza of this poem Hagedorn expresses, as does Thomson in his *Winter* (ll. 431 f.), his love for his favorite authors. In these passages the two poets describe their pleasure in reading, each suggesting a solitary place where, free from disturbance, he may enjoy his books. Each emphasizes, first the ancient writers, and then the modern. In each case a group of the ancient writers is called up and characterized individually. In brief, the similarity of thoughts between the poets in these two selections is such as would readily be apparent even to the casual reader.

After discussing the writers whom they admire, both Hagedorn and Thomson state that learning in and of itself is of little value. According to them it is only when it moves the heart to the best deeds that it fulfils its highest purpose.

What gives passages like this fourth stanza² of Hagedorn's peculiar significance is that the battle between head and heart which had been carried on in literary circles in Germany throughout the seventeenth century was still being fought in the eighteenth century, and the Germans longed to see a reconciliation brought about. They were tired of mere quibbling. As a result Hagedorn's suggestion to unite sentiment with scholarship was most welcome. It is interesting for our purpose that here in another of his important innovations he gets his inspiration from the English.

In one of the opening stanzas of *Schreiben an einen Freund* Hagedorn again states that he does not wish to be learned, but longs for quiet contentment:

Sie [meine Seele] wünscht sich nicht gelehrt, und
schöpft aus nahen Gründen
Den glücklichen Geschmack, die Tugend schön zu finden;

Werke, I, 39.

² "Freund, sei mit mir bedacht, die Kenntniss zu vergrössern,
Die unsern Neigungen die beste Richtschnur giebt;
Sonst wirst du den Verstand, und nicht das Herz, verbessern,
Das oft den Witz verwirrt, und nur den Irrthum liebt."

Und will des Daseyns werth, in Trieben nicht gemein,
 Still in Zufriedenheit, und ohne Knechtschaft seyn.¹

However, though he has no desire to be a scholar, he does not undervalue wisdom. To ignorance he attributes superstition, fear, and a whole train of evils:

Stolz, Aberglaube, Zorn, Bewundrung, Geiz und Neid
 Sind alles, was sie sind, nur durch Unwissenheit:
 Der Strom der Bosheit quillt aus Wahn und Unverstande;
 Ein Thor sucht blindlings Ruhm in Labyrinth der Schande,

 Beugt ungescheut das Recht, und zittert vor Kometen.²

The connection which Hagedorn here observes between ignorance and fear had been previously remarked by Pope in his *Essay on Man*:

Force first made Conquest, and that conquest, Law;
 'Til Superstition taught the tyrant awe.³

In *Glückseligkeit*⁴ Hagedorn expresses his belief that devotion to home and country are compatible with love of scholarship:

Doch sind wir, nach dem Zweck des Schöpfers aller Wesen,
 Nur, um gelehrt zu seyn, zum Daseyn auserlesen?
 Hat nicht an deinem Fleiss und wirksamen Verstand
 Dein eignes Haus ein Recht, noch mehr dein Vaterland?

The fact that "book learning" and practical efficiency can be combined in the same person was a favorite idea with Hagedorn. One of his best friends in Hamburg, the physician Carpsen, is called by Hagedorn the "Eheselden der Deutschen." Since Eheselden⁵ (1688-1752), the author of *Anatomy of the Human Body*, was a famous English surgeon and anatomist, the real honors go to the English again.

Hagedorn's sympathy with Swift in his utilitarian philosophy should be noted here, for Hagedorn in his expression of this philosophy acknowledged indebtedness to Swift:

Nutzt nich der grobe Pflug, die Egge mehr dem Staat,
 Als ihm ein Fernglas nutzt, was dir entdeckt hat,
 Wie von Cassini Schnee, von Huygens weisser Erde
 Im fernen Jupiter ein Land gefärbet werde?

¹ *Werke*, I, 41.

³ Ep. III, ll. 245-46.

² *Ibid.*, I, 44 ff.

⁴ *Werke*, I, 24.

⁵ Cf. Eschenburg in Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 921 ff.

Sah nicht ein Sokrates aufs menschliche Geschlecht,
 Und hatt' er etwa nicht bey seiner Strenge Recht,
 Die von der Wissenschaft der Sterne nichts behielte,
 Als was dem Feldbau half, und auf die Schifffahrt zielte?¹

Concerning the philosophy here expressed, Hagedorn wrote:

Ich erinnere mich hierbey einer Stelle Swift's in dem "Voyage to the Houyhnhnms," im 8 ten Cap. S. 215, wo Gulliver seinem vernünftigen Houyhnhnm von unsern unterschiedenen Lehrbegriffen in der Naturlehre Nachricht giebt: "In the like manner when I used to explain to him our several Systems of Natural Philosophy, he would laugh that a Creature pretending to Reason should value itself upon the Knowledge of other Peoples' Conjectures, and in things, where that Knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no use. Wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates, as Plato delivers them; which I mention as the highest honour I can do that Prince of Philosophers. I have often since reflected what destruction such a doctrine would make in the Libraries of Europe, and how many paths to Fame would be then shut up in the learned world."²

Hagedorn's interest in utilitarian philosophy connects him not only with Swift, but also with practically all the English writers of that time.³ But the essential thing which I wish to stress here concerning Hagedorn's attitude toward utilitarianism and scholarship in general, as I did in connection with his attitude toward happiness and virtue, is, not that he agrees with individual English writers in the expression of his ideas, but that he is in close sympathy with a whole movement in England and that he is the forerunner of this movement in Germany.

LOVE OF FREEDOM

In the lines of *Der Weise* beginning, "Wie edel ist die Neigung echter Britten!"⁴ Hagedorn expresses, not only his enthusiastic admiration for the English people, but his devotion to the cause of freedom as well. Such expressions as this are not to be found among Hagedorn's predecessors in Germany, for the poets were not free from the spirit of servility which the people showed toward their princes.⁵ It is only necessary to turn to Weichmann's *Poesie*

¹ *Werke*, I, 24 ff.

² *Ibid.*, I, 25, n. 10.

³ A good illustration of a work that would have made a strong appeal to Hagedorn and may quite possibly have been read by him is Defoe's *Essay on Projects* (1697).

⁴ *Werke*, I, 16.

⁵ Karl Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18. Jh.* (Leipzig, 1880), II, 14.

des *Niedersachsen* and note how large the proportion is of occasional poems in which the flattery of princes plays an important part, in order to realize how different was the spirit of Hagedorn's contemporaries. Among the contributors were included such men as Brockes and Richey, who were themselves interested in English literature, but it is significant that they left the leadership in this movement toward freedom to Hagedorn. That Hagedorn was not entirely free from this style of writing before going to England is shown in the poem, *Das frohlockende Russland* (1729). Not only is the spirit of servility, noticed in this poem, entirely lacking in everything which Hagedorn wrote after his stay in England, where he became "ein halber Engländer,"¹ but in addition, his hostility to flattery of princes is made very clear. The thought expressed in the bold lines beginning, "Wer heisst oft gross?"² is found repeatedly in his writings.

The only other name deserving mention in connection with this proclamation of liberty of thought in Germany is that of Haller; but although Haller in his poetry defends the cause of freedom, his influence for independence was not as great as Hagedorn's, because his style limited his popularity almost exclusively to scholars, while Hagedorn's poetry was readable among all classes.³

It is by no means impossible to believe that Hagedorn gained some confidence in expressing his love of freedom and hatred of servility from reading Thomson, since the English poet's writings are characterized throughout by the same spirit.

In a letter to Hagedorn from Bodmer⁴ and in one from Ebert,⁵ Thomson's poem *Liberty* (1734-36) is mentioned with enthusiastic praise. Despite the absence of reference to it in Hagedorn's pub-

¹ Cf. Letter from Hagedorn to Enderlein, in Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, 74, December 19, 1748.

² *Ibid.*, I, 16:

Wer heisst oft gross? Der schnell nach Ehren klettert,
Der Kühnheit hebt, die Höhe schwindlicht macht,
Doch wer ist gross? Der Fürsten nicht vergöttert,
Und edler denkt, als mancher Fürst gedacht.

³ The influence which Haller had upon his contemporaries and successors in promoting the cause of liberty of expression would make an interesting study by itself. Hermann Schuster (*op. cit.*) has made many interesting suggestions which are well worth working out.

⁴ *Werke*, V, 172, September 6, 1744.

⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 259, January 15, 1748.

lished letters, it is easy to believe, in view of his love of liberty, that he too read with enthusiasm this poem of Thomson's, but especially such expressions as are found in Part V, ll. 124-56, where there is the same insistence as in *Der Weise* upon an independence of spirit, which finds its highest enjoyment, not in wealth nor in the favor of the great, but in the inner peace and contentment which comes from a life of virtue, restraint, and companionship with the greatest minds. Thomson and Hagedorn agree that a soul will not yield to flattery and insinuating temptation while it is independent. Thus *Liberty* reads:

Unless corruption first deject the pride,
And guardian vigour of the free-born soul,
All crude attempts of violence are vain.¹

Hagedorn writes:

Die Schmeicheley legt ihre sanften Bande,
Ihr glattes Joch, nur eitlen Seelen an.
Unedler Ruhm und unverdiente Schande,
O waget euch an keinen Bidermann!²

The emphasis which Hagedorn places in the seventh stanza of his *Wünsche*³ upon maintaining innocence, cheerfulness, and health, and avoiding pride and delusion is not unlike that which Thomson⁴ gives to the same characteristics:

Nichts wähl' ich ausser dir, als, deiner zu geniessen,
Ein unverfälschtes Herz, ein immer heitres Haupt,
Wo aus zu grossem Glück nicht Stolz und Wahn entspriessen,
Noch ein zu grosses Leid mir Muth und Kräfte raubt.

In this connection it should be mentioned that Prior indicates the insinuating method which flattery uses in trying to destroy virtue.⁵

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[To be continued]

¹ Part II, 490-92.

² *Der Weise, Werke*, I, 18.

³ *Werke*, I, 39.

⁴ *Autumn*, ll. 1273-77; see above, p. 185.

⁵ Cf. *Solomon*, I, 692-98.

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON FRIEDRICH VON HAGEDORN

III

The similarity between Hagedorn's attitude toward flattery in court life and Prior's is also striking. Compare the following from *Solomon*¹ with a quotation from *Freundschaft*:²

"What is a king?

From the first blooming of his ill taught youth,
Nourished in flattery, and estranged from truth:
At home surrounded by a servile crowd,
Prompt to abuse, and in detraction loud.

Hat ihn der Himmel nicht mit seltner Kraft versehn,
So wird er nur zu schwach Versuchern widerstehn.
Der Hoheit Selbstbetrug vereitelt seine Güte,
Der Schmeichler Hinterhalt umzingelt sein Gemüthe.

The futility of the ravages caused by war is another subject which claimed the attention of both Hagedorn and Prior, and Thomson as well, as can be seen by comparing Hagedorn's stanza beginning, "Als aber Stolz und Neid den frechen Schwung erhuh,"³ with *Solomon* (Book III, ll. 303-8) and the *Castle of Indolence* (stanza LV).⁴

Although Hagedorn longed to see poets independent of the favor of princes, still he had long looked forward to the time when the rulers in Germany should foster German art. Along with other German poets, he was disappointed when Frederick the Great preferred Voltaire to the writers of his own country. In the poem, *Der Weise*, he cites the example of the English people in appreciating their own scholars:

Gunst krönt den Fleiss, den Macht und Freyheit schützen:
Die Reichsten sind der Wissenschaften Stützen.⁵

¹ Book III, ll. 275-82.

² *Werke*, I, 65.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 69.

⁴ See also Thomson's *Britannia* (II, 56-61).

⁵ *Werke*, I, 16.

He could have joined Parnell in his toast in *The Book-Worm*:

A health to poets all their days,
May they have bread as well as praise.¹

Later in *Wünsche*,² Hagedorn proclaims his allegiance to the cause of freedom with even more spirit than in *Der Weise*:

Du schönstes Himmelskind! du Ursprung bester Gaben,
Die weder Gold erkaufte, noch Herrengunst gewährt,
O Freyheit! kann ich nur dich zur Gefährtin haben,
Gewiss, so wird kein Hof mit meinem Flehn beschwert.

In this poem Hagedorn's scorn of the favor of princes has become bolder than it was in *Der Weise*. He sees that the realization of happiness and virtue can come only through freedom, that no man can attain a high development so long as he fawns upon his rulers. The same spirit is expressed by Thomson in his *Autumn* (ll. 1239-49), in a passage already quoted.³ And again in *Wünsche*.⁴

Die Wollust darf ihn nicht aus Bergkrystallen tränken,
Die Schmeichler kriechen nicht um seinen Speisesaal:
Doch Freyheit kann der Kost Kraft und Gedeihen schenken,
Und die fehlt Fürsten oft bey ihren Göttermahl.

It does not suffice merely to be independent as far as outside forces are concerned. This independence must be in the nature of an inner freedom. Only when a man can look himself squarely in the face is he able to regard himself on an equality with princes:

Wer diess von Weisen lernt, sein eigner Freund zu werden,
Mit der Versuchung nicht sich heimlich zu verstehn;
Der ist (ihr Grossen, glaubts) ein grosser Mann auf Erden,
Und darf Monarchen selbst frey unter Augen gehn.⁵

In a study of Hagedorn's *Moralische Gedichte*, it is impossible not to observe his growing love of freedom and his increasing boldness in expressing it. Emphasizing in *Der Weise* the beauty of freedom, citing England as its home,⁶ and warning his readers

¹ That Hagedorn knew Parnell is shown by a letter from Bodmer referring to him (*Werke*, V, 193).

² *Werke*, I, 39.

³ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 185.

⁴ *Werke*, I, 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 39.

⁶ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 190.

against the treachery of flattery, he continues to cherish this love of liberty until it becomes a passion with him. In his *Schreiben an einen Freund* he scorns rulers who obtain respect from their subjects only through the fear which they inspire:

Wie dürftig prangt ein Herr, den nur sein Thron erhebt,
Dem jeder nur gehorcht, weil jeder vor ihm bebt!¹

He goes so far as to prophesy that a time will come when such tyrants will no longer be tolerated:

Der Ehre Heiligthum wird er nicht lang' entweihn.
Verehrt ihm seine Zeit, so denkt die Nachwelt kühner.²

He suggests, too, that the power of a ruler is often under the control of others without his realizing it:

Vielleicht regieren ihn Gemahl und Kammerdiener,
Und, lenken diese nicht den königlichen Sinn,
So kanns ein Sporus thun, und eine Buhlerin.³

Hagedorn states in this poem that friendship and flattery are absolutely incompatible:

Die Nacht der Schmeicheley, die Fürsten stets umgiebt,
Erlaubt dem Besten kaum zu wissen, wer ihn liebt.
Und, kann die Gleichheit nur den Bau der Freundschaft gründen,
Wie wird er einen Freund, statt eines Heuchlers, finden?⁴

These lines should be read in connection with Thomson's *Autumn* (ll. 1235-42), in which the happiness of friendship is contrasted with the "vile intercourse of flatterers." Hagedorn continues in the spirit of many of Thomson's utterances when he writes:

Kennt ein Tyrann auch Freunde?
Bringt nicht, zur Sicherheit auf dem erstiegenen Thron,
Ein Sohn den Vater um, der Vater einen Sohn?⁵

Hagedorn's final summing-up of the poem is a mature expression of his English ideals:

¹ *Werke*, I, 46. This certainly has the vigor of Thomson's utterances on tyranny. Cf. especially *Summer*, ll. 1477-78:

The dread of tyrants, and the sole resource
Of those that under grim oppression groan.

² *Ibid.*, I, 46.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 53.

Nur der is wirklich gross, und seiner Zeiten Zierde,
 Den kein Bewundern täuscht, noch lockende Begierde,
 Den Kenntniss glücklich macht, und nicht zu schulgelehrt,
 Der zwar Beweise schätzt, doch auch den Zweifel ehrt,
 Vollkommenheit besitzt, die er nicht selbst bekennt,
 Nur edle Triebe fühlt, und Allen Alles gönnet,
 Der das ist, was er scheint, und nur den Beyfall liebt,
 Den seinen Tugenden Recht und Gewissen giebt.¹

The significant thing for us in this poem is that Hagedorn in his conception of freedom shows a closer relation to Pope in his *Essay on Man*, to Prior in his *Solomon*, and to Thomson in his *Liberty and Seasons*, especially *Autumn* and *Winter*, than he did in his earlier poems.

FRIENDSHIP

In Hagedorn's philosophy the crowning glory of virtue is friendship. To it he devoted the longest and, in some respects, the best of his *Moralische Gedichte*, *Die Freundschaft*. In this poem he first does homage to the dog of Ulysses, which remained true to its master during his long absence and on his return paid more respect to him whom it thought a beggar, than did the servants whom he had exalted; then on being stroked by the stranger, looked up, recognized him, and died.

Hagedorn bemoans the lack of true friendship in his own time, crowded out as it is by selfishness, inconstancy, indifference, servility, deception, laziness, and avarice. This leads up to an exposition of what real friendship means. He has little hope that princes will attain it, for, even after reading the history of former rulers, they will themselves become the victims of flattery unless they are strong. Friendship thrives best in the rural atmosphere, not in cities or at courts, for in the country freedom and peace reign. Friendship is the outgrowth of confidence and truth, not of jealousy and deception. It is most easily killed by coolness and infidelity. It exists among people of like virtues and often among those of congenial tastes. It cannot exist with selfishness, flattery, and hypocrisy. The real test of friendship is fidelity.²

¹ *Werke*, I, 55.

² In a footnote Hagedorn gives as his sources for the story of Ulysses' dog, *Odyssey*, Book xvii, Pope's note to line 399, his tenth letter to Cromwell, and Boileau's third critical treatise on some passages of Longinus in the third book of his works.

Addison's essay on *Friendship*¹ emphasizes the same characteristics as Hagedorn's *Freundschaft*.² Thus he writes: "Among the several qualifications of a good friend, this wise man (the son of Sirach)³ has very justly singled out constancy and faithfulness as the principal."

According to this, the ideals of Hagedorn and Addison with regard to friendship are fundamentally the same. I have already quoted from No. 15 of the *Spectator*,⁴ in which Addison represents happiness as an "enemy to pomp and noise," enjoying the friendship and conversation of a few, select companions, and loving "shade and solitude, . . . groves and fountains, fields and meadows." In *Freundschaft*⁵ Hagedorn affirms, as does Addison, that true friendship, a prerequisite of happiness, is to be found only in retirement from the pomp of the world:

O Land! der Tugend Sitz, wo zwischen Trift und Auen
 Uns weder Stolz noch Neid der Sonne Licht verbauen,
 Und Freude Raum erblickt; wo Ehrgeiz und Betrug
 Sich nicht dem Strohdach naht, noch Gift dem irdnen Krug;
 Wo Anmuth Witz gebiert, und Witz ein sichres Scherzen,
 Weil niemand sinnreich wird, um seinen Freund zu schwärzen;
 Wo man nie wissentlich Verheissungen vergisst,
 Und Redlichkeit ein Ruhm, und Treu ein Erbgut ist,
 Wie in Arcadien. Erkauft das Gold der Reichen
 Sich Freunde solcher Art, die rechten Hirten gleichen?

Hagedorn also expresses⁶ what Addison infers in *Spectator*, No. 15, viz., that real friendship is not to be found in courts and crowds of people:

Der Sitz geheimer Noth und öffentlicher Pracht,
 Der Hof ist nicht der Ort, der Freundschaft herzlich macht.

Thomson shows in *Autumn* (ll. 1237 ff.) his highest conception of happiness, like Hagedorn's, to be a life in retirement with a few friends. Again, in *Winter* (ll. 572-73) he expresses the same spirit:

¹ *Spectator*, No. 68.

² Although this essay is composed almost entirely of quotations from *The Wisdom of the Son of Sirach*, yet Addison gives the views contained in it the stamp of his own approval.

³ The parenthesis is my own.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 188.

⁵ *Werke*, I, 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 65.

Thus in some deep retirement would I pass
The winter glooms, with friends of pliant soul.¹

One person who, in Hagedorn's judgment, is debarred from real friendship is the gossip.² His poem, *Der Schwätzer*, calls to mind a long series of articles in both the English and German moral weeklies on the subject. It was one of their favorite themes.

Hagedorn, like Addison and Steele, kept in close touch with the common people and had every opportunity to know their weaknesses. Like them, he spent much time in coffee-houses, where he could hear the conversation of all classes of people. In this poem Hagedorn represents himself as taking a walk and meeting a gossip, who became the subject of his satire. His antipathy for the class of people whom this man represents is well put:

Ich eil', ich stehe still, von ihm mich zu befreyen,
Und raun' ich weiss nicht was dem Diener in die Ohren;
Noch hier ist alle Müh und alle Kunst verlohren.
Mir bricht der Angstschweiss aus. O wie beneidenswerth,
Gedenk ich, ist der Thor, der Thoren gerne hört!³

In this connection it is significant to recall that Addison in the *Spectator* discusses the conversation of his correspondents.⁴ In

¹ See also *Winter* (ll. 343-44):

E'en in the vale, where wisdom loves to dwell,
With friendship, peace, and contemplation joined.

² The aversion of Hagedorn to gossips was mentioned after his death by his friend Klopstock (Ed. Muncker und Pawel, I, 26):

So schiefst du sicher von den Schwätzern
Nicht ohne Götter ein muthger Jüngling.

Hagedorn refers to it himself in the third stanza of his *Wünsche* in which he speaks of the pleasure which his favorite books afford him when he can retire with them to a place where gossips cannot intrude (*Werke*, I, 38):

O wie vergnügen mich, wo die kein Schwätzer störet,
Die Werke, deren Ruhm die Meister überlebt.

³ *Werke*, I, 85.

⁴ *Spectator*, No. 67, is devoted to the "party rage" of women, which has crept into their conversation. Addison decries anything in their speech which may detract from "the softness, the modesty, and those endearing qualities which are natural to the fair sex."

In No. 16, referring to requests from correspondents to print the private scandal connected with the names of particular persons and families, Addison replies that it is not his design "to be a publisher of intrigues and cuckoldoms, or to bring little infamous stories out of their present lurking holes into broad daylight."

The familiar quotation on slander from Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, Canto III, ll. 11-16, should be recalled here:

In various talk th' instructive hours they past,
Who gave the ball, or paid the visit last;
One speaks the glory of the British Queen;
And one describes a charming Indian screen;
A third interprets motives, looks, and eyes;
At ev'ry word a reputation dies.

No. 46 he prints a letter from a man who complains that his wife is a "gospel-gossip": "If at any time I have her company alone, she is a mere sermon pop-gun, repeating and discharging texts, proofs, and applications so perpetually that however weary I may go to bed, the noise in my head will not let me sleep until morning."

No less persistent is Hagedorn's gossip. After trying in vain to get rid of him,¹ Hagedorn says dejectedly:

Mich krümm' ich, wie ein Pferd, daß, bey zu schwerer Last,
Kopf, Maul und Ohren bäugt, und seinen Treiber hasst.²

On turning again to *Freundschaft*, we find that Hagedorn got from Pope more than the suggestion for the opening of the poem. In the Second Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, Pope begins with self-love, "the spring of motion":

Two Principles in human nature reign;
Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain.³

and proceeds from that to friendship, a tie which has grown out of mutual need:

Heav'n forming each on other to depend,
A master, or a servant, or a friend,
Bids each on other for assistance call,
Till one Man's weakness grows the strength of all,
Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally
The common int'rest, or endear the tie.
To these we owe true friendship, love sincere,
Each home-felt joy that life inherits here.⁴

Hagedorn follows the same course:

Die Liebe zu uns selbst, allein die weise nur,
Ist freylich unsre Pflicht, die Stimme der Natur;
Doch sie verknüpft sich auch mit den Bewegungsgründen,
In andern wie in uns, das Gute schön zu finden,
Dem Schönen hold zu seyn.⁵

The self-restraint urged by Pope throughout this epistle is stressed by Hagedorn also:

¹ In the chatter of this gossip is a passing reference to the English people (*Werke*, I, 86): "Im Gehen, glauben Sies, bin ich ein rechter Britte."

² *Werke*, I, 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 249-56.

³ *Essay on Man*, Ep. II, ll. 53-54.

⁵ *Werke*, I, 62 ff.

Wie ruhig ist ein Herz, das seine Pflichten kennt!
 Das jede seine Lust, wie seine Richtschnur, nennt!
 Von ihm, und nur von ihm, wird Freundschaft recht geschätzt,
 Die wahrer Dichtkunst gleich, so bessert, als ergetzet.¹

Reference has already been made to Hagedorn's warm friendships for contemporary authors,² but sufficient emphasis has not been put upon the fact that in this feature also Hagedorn was an innovator. Schuster states³ that in Hagedorn's time there was scarcely a trace of a *Freundschaftscultus* in Germany:

Von Freundeskreisen und freundlichem Leben wird aber mit einer einzigen Ausnahme in den deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften damals nirgends gesprochen. Dieselbe findet sich in den *Diskursen der Maler*, wo man II. Th. IV. D. auf die Freundschaft, wie sie Cicero behandelt hat, wieder aufmerksam macht; sonst trifft man in den Wochenschriften nicht eine einzige besondere Abhandlung über das Wesen und den Begriff der Freundschaft, welcher Mangel wohl den sichersten Beweis giebt, dass damals in Deutschland kaum eine Spur von einem Freundschaftscultus vorhanden gewesen sein kann.

There is no doubt that Schuster⁴ is correct in asserting further that Hagedorn's stay in England and his familiarity with English life and literature had much to do with his development of the *Freundschaftscultus* in Germany. This was fostered by the younger German writers who got much of their inspiration from him, especially the groups of poets in Leipzig and Halle.⁵

LOVE OF COUNTRY LIFE

With Hagedorn, the farmer is not only a useful member of society, but as a result of his environment a happy one as well. In this respect he agrees with Thomson in dividing society into two classes. In one are the quiet dwellers of the country, who enjoy a reasonable competence and are consequently happy, contented, and independent

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 69.

³ Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² *Modern Philology*, XII, 5, p. 124.

⁴ Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵ Hagedorn's friendship for the younger writers was not a matter of mere sentiment. It expressed itself in such assistance as suggestions, lending of books, and, when necessary, financial aid. His assistance to the "Bauersohn," Gottlieb Fuchs, might be mentioned in this connection. He interested his Hamburg friends also in the blind poet Enderlein, and raised the sum of 200 thaler, which was given to Enderlein in such a way that he did not know from whom it came. Rabener called Hagedorn "ein liebreicher Vormund der witzigen und nothleidenden Köpfe in Sachsen" (*Literarische Pamphleten*, by Bodmer, p. 130).

in spirit; in the other are those who live in cities and strive in vain for happiness through the attainment of wealth and influence. The following lines from *Glückseligkeit* express Hagedorn's attitude in general toward the countryman:

O Glück der Niedrigen, der Schnitter und der Hirten,
 Die sich in Flur und Wald, in Trift und Thal bewirthen,
 Wo Einfalt und Natur, die ihre Sitten lenkt,
 Auch jeder rauhen Kost Geschmack und Segen schenkt!¹

Without suggesting that Hagedorn was directly influenced by the following poem from Thomson,² I quote it as illustrating the kinship of ideas between the two poets:

If those who live in shepherd's bower,
 Press not the rich and stately bed:
 The new mown hay and breathing flower
 A softer couch beneath them spread.

If those who sit at shepherd's board,
 Soothe not their taste by wanton art;
 They take what nature's gifts afford,
 And take it with a cheerful heart.

If those who drain the shepherd's bowl,
 No high and sparkling wines can boast,
 With wholesome cups they cheer the soul,
 And crown them with the village toast.

If those who join in shepherd's sport,
 Gay dancing on the daisied ground,
 Have not the splendour of a court;
 Yet love adorns the merry round.

It is important to bear in mind in connection with what has just been said, that in Hagedorn's time a revolution in German thought was marked by a return to nature, which he united with Brockes in advocating. In Hagedorn's striving for simplicity, his break with conventions, preceding as it did the introduction of Rousseau into Germany by a good many years, helped to do for Germany what Thomson did for England.

¹ *Werke*, I, 31.

² "Contentment," from *Alfred*, Act III, sc. v.

Again although Hagedorn's beauty of language and perfection of style have frequently been commented on, and that usually in connection with his imitation of classic writers, comparatively little has ever been said about Hagedorn as an innovator, who helped to introduce into Germany the directness of description characteristic of English Romanticists. The Germans have not thought of him as we think today of Thomson, but his poetry, as does Thomson's, belongs to a transition period. When we think of Thomson as the forerunner of Wordsworth, not only in his treatment of nature, but also in his simplicity of style, we do not forget that his dramas and a large part of his poetry are conventional in style,¹ but we do not on this account overlook the romantic elements in his *Seasons*. Neither should we let the formality of Hagedorn's style blind us to the valuable work which he did in introducing a new type of literature into Germany, nor should we overlook the part which Thomson very probably played in influencing him.

Special attention should be given to Hagedorn's *Horaz*, since it is very closely related in spirit to Thomson's *Spring*. The opening stanza² suggests the enjoyment of nature which one familiar with Thomson's poem will recall as decidedly characteristic of him.³ The similarity in the handling of the theme is also significant. The cheerful spirit, characteristic of both Hagedorn's and Thomson's poems, was, as has been said before,⁴ almost entirely lacking in the German poetry immediately preceding Hagedorn. "Das Recht vergnügt zu seyn" was an important element in his belief, as well as in that of Thomson and Addison. This was the feature in his work which Hagedorn's followers among the Anacreontic poets developed, as will be shown in a later study of Hagedorn's *Lieder*. In this last of his *Moralische Gedichte*, *Horaz*, more than in any of the earlier ones, Hagedorn emphasizes this spirit of cheerfulness, another evidence that his point of view was consistently becoming that of contemporary English rather than German writers.

¹ Many of the stilted expressions of pseudo-Classicism still clung to Thomson; for example: "musky tribes," "finny race," "glossy kind," "busy nations."

² *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 183.

Cf. Thomson's *Spring*, ll. 1-4; 186-221.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, pp. 188 f.

In this poem nature plays a more important part than in any of the previous poems of this group. Only a person who has learned to see nature first hand could write such lines as the following:

Du sahest oft an hoffnungsvollen Bäumen,
Um Rind' und Stamm, das Moos zu häufig keimen.¹

Such a minute observance of details in nature is consonant with the development toward Romanticism in England during the eighteenth century. Thomson's importance in making nature more than a mere ornament to poetry is too well known to need more than passing mention here. That Hagedorn was a pioneer in Germany, as Thomson was in England, in a sympathetic observation of nature is what concerns us.

As with Thomson, so with Hagedorn, the quiet life of the country answers a real need in its restfulness to the weary city dweller:

Wann seh ich dich, in Stunden freyer Ruh,
Beym Schlaf am Bach, aus Büchern kluger Alten,
Vergessenheit der Mühe zu erhalten,
Der öftern Last, die in der Stadt mich drückt,
Und meine Lust in enger Luft erstickt?
Wann werd' ich mich in jenen kühlen Gründen,
An jenem Quell, verneuert, wieder finden?²

The similarity of Hagedorn's point of view and Thomson's on this subject may be seen by comparing the above with a passage from Thomson's poem, *Of a Country Life* (ll. 90 f.):

When the noon sun directly darts his beams
Upon your giddy heads, with fiery gleams,
Then you may bathe yourself in cooling streams;
Or to the sweet adjoining grove retire,
Where trees with interwoven boughs conspire
To form a grateful shade.

There you may stretch yourself upon the grass,
And, lulled with music, to kind slumbers pass:
No meagre cares your fancy will distract,
And on that scene no tragic fears will act.

But grant, ye powers, that it may be my lot
To live in peace from noisy towns remote.

¹ *Werke*, I, 99.

² *Werke*, I, 99.

Hagedorn, as well as Thomson, likes to turn from a description of the artificial pleasures of the city to the innocent ones of the country. Thomson's *Autumn* (ll. 1246-77), in which he expresses his aversion to the restlessness and deception of the city, and his love of the quiet and sincerity of the country, is typical of many such passages in the *Seasons*.¹ In general, the same features are observable in Hagedorn's earlier moral poetry, but not until this poem does he mention with such "Thomson-like" concreteness² the country life as in the following lines:

Der Schafe Schur, der Vogelfang, die Jagd,
Die Taubenzucht, die Wartung seiner Bienen,
Das frische Bad, der stille Schlaf im Grünen.
.
.
.
Sein Vieh, sein Land, sein Garten giebt Gerichte,
Die Milch, den Fisch, den Braten und die Früchte,
Sein Weinberg Wein, den kein Verkäufer mischt.³

In connection with the same passage from *Autumn*, cited above, it should be noted in passing that Hagedorn's conception of domestic happiness also is found to be one where a simple meal with one's friends plays an important part:

An Kriegsgeräth besitzt er nur ein Zelt,
In welchem er mit Freunden Tafel hält.⁴

But the activity which belongs to a life in the country is essential to this enjoyment:

Dort schmeckt dir Brod, wie sonst kein Kuchen that,
Denn alles schmeckt, wo man Bewegung hat.⁵

¹ Cf. *The Castle of Indolence*, stanzas XLIX-LVIII.

² Cf. Myra Reynolds, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), for a careful treatment of Thomson's descriptive poetry.

³ *Werke*, I, 104.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 104.

⁵ *Werke*, I, 105. Hagedorn's lines on fishing (*Werke*, I, 104) may have been suggested by Thomson's description of fishing in *Spring* (ll. 379-442) and the one in his poem *Of a Country Life* (ll. 53-66):

Und was er sonst bald mit beglückten Händen
Zu angeln pflegt, bald in der Netze Wänden
Gefangen führt, bald, wie den fetten Aal,
In Reusen lockt zum frohen Mittagsmahl.

I add here four lines in which his concreteness is especially marked (*ibid.*, I, 104):

Im Teich, im Strom, wo Schley und Karppe springen,
Forell' und Schmerl durch Sand und Kiesel dringen,
Der Frösche Feind, der Krebs, geharnischt laicht,
Und, ganz vertieft, die bärte Barbe streicht.

Though such passages as the above are a distinct echo of Horace,¹ the admiration for whom formed a bond of sympathy between Hagedorn and Thomson, the following evidence especially is strongly in favor of our regarding Hagedorn as having been influenced by Thomson in his treatment of nature. In the first place, the evidence advanced in the preceding pages indicates a close relationship between Thomson and Hagedorn in other significant characteristics. Then, in addition, Thomson had become well known in literary circles of Germany by the time *Horaz* was written. Not only had Brockes' translation of the *Seasons* been published seven years before, but imitations of it, as well, had begun to appear.² In view of this fact, and of the similarity between the two poets, it is logical to assume that Hagedorn, probably the widest reader of English literature in Germany at that time, was influenced, as well as his contemporaries, by Thomson's attitude toward nature.

References to domestic activities form an important feature in the German imitations of the *Seasons*, especially Kleist's *Frühling*, Zachariä's *Tageszeiten*, and Gessner's *Idyllen*. It will be recalled that previous to the time of Thomson any mention of commonplace themes in the poetry of England and Germany was considered in bad taste. It is significant that Hagedorn was one of the first German poets to refer in a natural way to everyday pursuits.

In connection with Thomson's influence upon the eighteenth-century poets of Germany, I believe that it was not as great upon Brockes and Haller as has generally been supposed. Brockes had been writing at least sixteen years before Thomson's *Spring* first appeared in English, and he had already formed his style, which was microscopic in contrast with the panoramic treatment characteristic of Thomson's style. Brockes and Haller both describe nature with scientific accuracy, but fail to animate it as Thomson does. In this respect Hagedorn is much closer to Thomson than is either Brockes or Haller. It is admitted that Hagedorn in his poems written before going to England followed Brockes in his microscopic

¹ Cf. especially *Epodes of Horace*, Ode 11.

² Kleist's *Frühling*, the best of the imitations of Thomson's *Spring*, had appeared two years earlier than Hagedorn's *Horaz*.

manner,¹ but like Kleist and Wieland, who were also influenced by Brockes in their early writing, he later abandoned this style and learned to use the broad effects characteristic of Thomson. Unlike Zachariä, and other imitators of Thomson, Hagedorn always stays within the bounds of good taste in his choice and treatment of subjects. Like Thomson he made everything poetic which he described. Further, Hagedorn is more closely related to Thomson in another characteristic than are Brockes and Haller: the work of both of these latter writers is characterized by a somber tone which is lacking in the poetry of Thomson and Hagedorn. The idyllic element which Haller, Wieland, and Gessner had learned from Thomson is found also in Hagedorn's *Horaz*. When we compare Hagedorn with his German contemporaries with regard to Thomson's influence upon their attitude toward nature, it appears certain that he was under the spell of the English poet, and that he was probably influenced more than were Brockes and Haller, and earlier than were Kleist, Wieland, Zachariä, or Gessner.²

In summing up the qualities which Hagedorn stresses, not only in this poem, but in all his *Moralische Gedichte* as well, I cannot do better than use a passage in Thomson's *Spring* (ll. 1161-64):

An elegant sufficiency, content,
Retirement, moral quiet, friendship, books,
Ease and alternate labour, useful life,
Progressive virtue, and approving heaven!

SUMMARY

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to show the development of the influence of English literature upon the thought and form of Hagedorn's didactic poems. In considering this influence upon his thought, special attention has been paid to his interest in the philosophy of the English Deists, since he was the first to do in Germany what Pope had done in England, viz., to popularize deistic philosophy. In tracing the development of Hagedorn's conceptions of virtue, wisdom, freedom, friendship, philanthropy, and

¹ It will be recalled that Hagedorn in his later years wrote a parody on this detailed form of description employed by Brockes.

² As a matter of pure speculation, I offer the suggestion that Hagedorn may have helped Kleist, Wieland, Zachariä, and Gessner to know Thomson.

kindred subjects which constantly recur throughout his moral poems, attention has been called to the gradual change in Hagedorn's expressions concerning these themes; and especially as he departed from the prevalent views of his German contemporaries and approached those of his English models, chief among whom were Pope, Prior, and most probably Thomson and Addison. In his treatment of nature Thomson has been cited as the probable inspiration of Hagedorn in his marked advance in simplicity and directness over most of his contemporaries. The spirit of cheerfulness pervading his poetry, which had a marked influence upon the Anacreontic poetry of Germany, has been shown to be mainly an outgrowth of his ideas of virtue, freedom, and friendship, all of which bear the stamp of English influence.

In observing the influence of English literature upon Hagedorn's form, great importance has been attached to his introduction of the *Moralisches Gedicht* into German literature. Since this form, which he learned to use from Pope, afterward gained great popularity in Germany, this is a matter of considerable significance. Hagedorn's innovation is no less important in the use of the iambic pentameter with the heroic couplet at the end of each stanza, as in *Der Gelehrte* and *Der Weise*, and in the employment of the five-foot couplet exclusively in the last of these poems, *Horaz*; and this innovation has been cited as clearly of English origin. The concise, epigrammatic quality of Hagedorn's style, another innovation in German literature, has been pointed out as a contribution to him from Pope.

Although Hagedorn followed classic ideals, as did his English contemporaries, his similarity to the latter in his manner of expressing those ideals is too close to be regarded as merely accidental. Again, it may be contended that since Hagedorn was influenced in these poems by the classics, especially Horace, he would have written as he did even if he had never known English literature. But this is mere speculation, and is contrary to positive evidence. The evidence shows that although he expressed many of the same ideas found in the classics, his treatment of them resembles that of his English contemporaries more closely than it does that of the classics.¹

¹ Hagedorn in his development combines an approach to the conciseness of form and compactness of meter characteristic of Pope, with the tendency toward Romanticism for which Thomson stands.

Furthermore, his lifelong interest in English books and moral weeklies, his association with literary men who also were students of English literature, and the impressions made upon him during his stay in London form evidence which approaches conclusiveness in a final consideration of our argument. Hagedorn's breadth of knowledge of English life and literature was so great that it must have exerted an influence upon what he wrote, especially since he was avowedly a free imitator.¹ Moreover, it is of special importance to note that his writings bear practically no stamp of English influence until after he has been in England.

Finally, the English influences upon the thought and form of Hagedorn's moral writings are important, not only on account of the effect which they had upon him, but also because of that which they exerted through him upon his successors in Germany.

APPENDIX

HAGEDORN'S REFERENCES TO ENGLISH LITERATURE²

- Addison. I, v.³ Cites *Spectator*, No. 512, as one of the sources of *Der Sultan u. sein Bezier Azem*.
 III, ix, footnote 15. Quotes Addison's lines on Waller.
 III, x, footnote 17. Reference to *Guardian*, No. 67.
 III, xi, footnote 19. Quotes from *Spectator*, No. 85.
 III, xi, footnote 20. Reference to *Spectator*, Nos. 70 and 74.
 III, xx, footnote 29. Quotes from his *Discourse on Ancient Learning*, p. 6.
 III, xxix. Reference to his odes.
 III, 100, footnote. Reference to his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, p. 212 ff.
 V, 102. Reference to *Spectator*—never tires of it.
- Akenside. V, 188. Bodmer's criticism of Akenside's *Art of Preserving Health*.
 V, 204. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for the *Pleasures of Imagination*.

¹ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, pp. 179 f.

² There are, without doubt, other English references in Hagedorn's unpublished letters, to which I have not had access.

³ The references are to Hagedorn's *Werke* (Hamburg, 1800), unless otherwise indicated.

- Beaumont, Francis. IV, 123, footnote. Quotes from *In the Praise of Sack*, from *A Select Collection of English Songs*, II, 28, source of *Mischmasch*.
- Behn, Aphra. III, ix. Reference to her as song writer.
- Blackwells. III, xxii, footnote 30. Reference to *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, pp. 80-103, 196.
- Blainville. II, 20, footnote 3. Reference to *Travels through Holland, Germany, etc.*, I, 263, 264.
- Broome. V, 193. Bodmer refers to him as son of Homer.
- Brucker. I, 25, footnote 12. Reference to *Histor. Critic. Philosophiae*, I, 557.
I, 48, footnote 27. *Ibid.*, I, 655-56.
I, 71, footnote 22. *Ibid.*, I, 1315.
I, 125, footnote 3. *Ibid.*, I, 871.
III, 113, footnote 1. *Ibid.*, II.
III, 114, footnote 2. *Ibid.*, I, 1242-48.
- Buckingham. I, 120. Quotation from him used at head of *Witz und Tugend*.
III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
III, xiii, footnote 24. Quotation from him.
- Chaucer. V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- Cibber. V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Cobb. I, 138. Reference to one of his epigrams as a source of *Susanna*.
- Congreve. III, xxix. Reference to his odes.
- Cowley. III, xvii. Reference to him.
- Croxal. V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- Delaney, D. V, 121. Reference to him.
- Donne, Dr. III, xvii. Reference to him.
- Dorset, Earl of. II, ix. Reference to *Knottling in Works of the Earls of Rochester, Roscommon, Dorset, etc.* (London, 1721), II, 53-54, the source of *Daphnis*.
III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
III, xi. Reference to him.
- Dryden. II, ix. Reference to his *Fables*, 185-92, as source of *Philemon and Baucis*.
III, xi, footnote 19. Reference to him.
III, xxix. Reference to his odes.
V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- D'Ursey. III, x. Reference to him.
- Eheselden, Wm. I, 123. Carpsen is called the "Eheselden der Deutschen."
V, 119. Reference to "Deutschen Eheselden."
- Fenton. II, ix. Reference to *Miscellaneous Poems*, ed. by Lintat (1722), II, 124, *Freeman and Wild, Two Hot Young Gallants, etc.*

- Fielding. V, 167. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for sending him the *Life of Joseph Andrews*.
- Fitzosborne, Sir Thomas. I, 61, footnote 6. Reference to his *Letters on Several Subjects* (London, 1748), Letter 19.
I, 75, footnote 31. *Ibid.*, Letter 15.
- Forrester. I, 116, footnote 47. Reference to his *Polite Philosopher* (Edinburgh, 1734).
- Gay. II, vi. Cites his *Fables* (1733), No. 50, pp. 190-94, source of *Der Hase und viele Freunde*.
II, viii. Cites *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1731), II, 55, as one of the sources of *Aurelius und Beelzebub*.
III, ix. Reference to him as song-writer.
V, 142. Reference to his *Fables*.
- Gildon. V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Glover. V, 85. Compares Triller, author of a mock heroic, to Glover.
- Gordon. I, 48, footnote 26. Reference to *Discourses upon Tacitus*, Disc. IV, I, 81-100.
I, 64, footnote 10. *Ibid.*, III, 55-56, 105.
I, 65, footnote 12. *Ibid.*, III, 71.
- Gould, W. I, 60, footnote 5. Reference to his *Account of English Ants* (London, 1747), p. 59.
- Hobbes. II, 212. Dedicates poem to him.
- Hume. I, 61, footnote 6. Reference to his *Essays Moral and Political* (London, 1748), XIV, 119-26.
V, 211. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for sending him Hume's *Essays*.
- Hutcheson. I, 76, footnote 25 (ed. Hamburg, 1757). Reference to *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (London, 1742), pp. 258 ff.
- Jonson, Ben. III, xi. Reference to him.
- Johnson, Samuel. V, 98. Reference to his *Dictionary*.
V, 145. Reference to his "Incomparable Rambler."
- Lauder. V, 145. Reference to his opposition to *Paradise Lost*.
- L'Estrange, Sir Roger. II, v. Cites his *Fables* (London, 1694), No. 86, as one of the sources of *Das Delphische Orakel und der Gottlose*.
II, vi. Cites *ibid.*, No. 69, as source of *Der Fuchs ohne Schwanz*.
II, vii. Cites *ibid.*, No. 89, pp. 176, 177, as source of *Die Bärenhaut*.
- Mallet. I, 135, footnote. Reference to his *Poem of Verbal Criticism* (London, 1743).
III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.

Mallet—*continued*

- V, 97. Reference to his excellent poem, *Amyntor and Theodora*, his *Poems on Several Occasions*, in which he calls attention to the *Poem of Verbal Criticism*, which pleases him, and the *Excursion*, which he said was regarded in England as a masterpiece.
- V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- V, 207. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for *Amyntor*, *Verbal Criticism* and *Excursion*.
- Mandeville. V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- Mead, Richard. I, 129, footnote. Reference to his *Mechanical Account of Poisons*.
- Middleton. I, 45, footnote 18. Reference to his *History of the Life of Cicero*, I, 85, 94, 98, 104.
- Milton. V, 105 ff. Reference to him.
 V, 109. Reference to him.
 V, 112. Reference to him.
 V, 113. Reference to him.
 V, 114 ff. Reference to him.
 V, 145. Reference to him.
- Newton. I, 23 (ed. 1757). Reference to him.
 V, 146. Reference to him.
- Oldham, John. II, vi. Cites *The Works of Mr. John Oldham*, II, 128, as one of the sources of *Der Wolf und der Hund*.
- Orrery, Lord. I, 61, footnote 6. Reference to 15th letter of Lord Orrery to his son, Hamilton Boyle, in the *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1752), p. 184.
 V, 120. Reference to him.
- Parnell. V, 193. Bodmer refers to him as son of Homer.
- Pemberton. V, 167. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for sending him *Observations on Epic Poetry*.
- Phillips, Ambrosius. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
 V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Pope. I, xix, footnote. Reference to him.
 I, xx, footnote. Reference to him.
 I, xxx. Quotes from *Essay on Criticism*, l. 584.
 I, xxxi. Quotes from *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 152-57.
 I, xxxii, footnote 3. Quotes from *Observations on Homer*, p. 2.
 I, xxxiii. Quotes from him. Reference to Pope's note to the 399th line of the 17th book of the *Odyssey* and to Pope's 10th letter to Cromwell.
 I, 135, footnote. Reference to *Imitations of Horace*, p. 430, 451.

Pope—*continued*

- I, 142, footnote 3. Quotes from *Essay on Modern Education* in Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies* (London, 1736), III, 182.
- I, 175, footnote. Quotes from *Dunciad*, II, 33, 34.
- II, viii. Cites *The Miscellanies* by Pope and Swift, Vol. III, as the source of *Ja und Nein*.
- II, 118, footnote. Quotes from *Eloise to Abelard*.
- II, 135, footnote 2. Reference to his translation of the *Odyssey*.
- III, xii. Reference to Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, V, 120.
- III, xxix. Reference to *St. Cecilia*.
- V, 16. Reference to German translation of *Essay on Man*.
- V, 18. Quotes from Pope.
- V, 60, footnote. Reference to Latin translation of *Essay on Man*.
- V, 98 ff. Reference to *Dunciad*.
- V, 110. Reference to rules of sound in 6th letter to Walsh.
- V, 115 ff. Reference to Hagedorn's translation of *Universal Prayer*.
- V, 122. Reference to Italian translation of *Essay on Man*.
- V, 141, footnote. Reference to *Rape of the Lock*.
- V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.

Prior.

- I, 136, footnote. Quotes epigram from him.
- I, 138. Reference to an epigram of his as one of the sources of *Susanna*.
- II, ix. Cites his *Poems*, I, 97, as source of *Liebe und Gegenliebe*.
- II, x. Cites his *Poems*, I, 109-15, as source of *Paulus Purganti und Agnese*.
- II, 95, footnote 1. Quotes from *Hans Carvel*, one of the sources of *Aurelius und Beelzebub*.
- II, 140, footnote 5. Quotes from his *Ladle*, one of the sources of *Philemon und Baucis*.
- II, 148, footnote. Quotes from his *Paulus Purganti and His Wife*, one of the sources of *Paulus Purganti und Agnese*.
- III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.

Ramsay, Allen. II, v. Cites *Fable of the Lost Calf* in Ramsay's *Poems* (Edinburgh, 1723), pp. 275, 276, as one of the sources of *Das Gelübde*.

III, ix. Reference to him.

Richardson. V, 110 ff. Criticism of *Clarissa* and reference to *Pamela*.

Rochester, Earl of. IV, 49. Cites *A Very Heroical Epistle in Answer to Ephelia* as source of *An Ephelien*.

V, 102. Reference to him.

Roscommon, Earl of. III, xviii. Quotes from his translation of Horace.

- Sedley, Sir Charles. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- Seldon. I, 65, footnote 12. Reference to him.
- Shaftesbury. I, 72, footnote 24. Reference to *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour in Characteristicks*, I, 98 ff.
V, 97. Reference to him.
- Shakespeare. I, xx, footnote. Reference to him.
I, 26, footnote 11. Quotes from *King Henry VI*, Part III, Act II, sc. 3.
I, 76, footnote 33. Quotes from a speech of Iago's in *Othello*.
I, 123, footnote. Reference to *King Richard III*, Act I, sc. 1.
V, 99. Reference to German translation of *Julius Caesar*.
- Sidney, Philip. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- Spence. I, 117, footnote 37 (ed. 1757). Reference to *Polymetis: or an Inquiry Concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Antient Artists*, etc. (London, 1747), p. 21.
I, 135, footnote. Reference to him.
- Spenser. V, 197. Bodmer refers to the *Faerie Queene*.
- Stanley. I, 25, footnote 10. Reference to *History of Philosophy*, Part III, chap. v, p. 72.
- Steele. III, xi. Reference to the *Lover*, No. 40.
III, 196, footnote 3. Reference to the *Spectator*, No. 196.
V, 133 ff. Hagedorn writes Ebert, asking him to translate *The Conscious Lovers*.
- Swift. I, 25, footnote 10. Quotes from the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* in *Gulliver's Travels*, chap. viii, p. 215.
I, 142, footnote 3. Quotes from *Essay on Modern Education* in Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies* (London, 1736), III, 182.
II, viii. Cites Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, Vol. III, the source of *Ja und Nein*.
II, ix. Cites *Baucis and Philemon* as one of the sources of *Philemon und Baucis*.
II, ix. Cites Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, 1731. III, 132-40, as one of the sources of *Philemon und Baucis*.
II, 27, footnote. Reference to *Gulliver's Travels* and quotation from Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, III, 311.
II, 141, footnote 6. Quotes from Swift.
III, xii. Reference to Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, V, 120.
V, 99. Calls Liscov "Deutschland's Swift."
V, 101. Reference to him.
V, 120. Reference to him.
V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Taylor, Lord. V, 63. Reference to him.

- Temple, Wm. I, 64, footnote 9. Reference to *Memoirs* (1672-79), p. 245.
- Thomson. V, 172. Bodmer refers to Thomson's *Liberty*.
 V, 259. Ebert writes to Hagedorn (Leipzig, January 15, 1748) that he has recently studied the divine Thomson thoroughly and he can scarcely forgive Brockes for translating him. He sighs for Thomson's poem, *Liberty*, and cannot rest until he can find and admire Thomson in Hagedorn's company.
- V, 262. Ebert writes to Hagedorn, Leipzig, January 15, 1748: "Mich ärgert's, dass ich den Thomson nicht mit habe verschreiben lassen. Bei solcher Gelegenheit empfinde ichs erst nicht, dass ich nicht reich bin. Was für eine herrliche Sammlung von schönen Büchern wollte ich haben! Sie sollte der Ihrigen nicht weichen; denn ich würde mir die Ihrigen zum Muster nehmen."
- V, 266. Ebert writes Hagedorn, Leipzig, April 8, 1748: "Es dauert mich nur, dass ich ihn (Giseke) nicht im Englischen habe weiter bringen können, ihn, der so würdig ist, Pope und Thomson zu lesen."
- Tickell. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- Turnbull. V, 97. Reference to his edition of Shaftesbury's works.
- Waller. III, ix. Reference to him as a song writer.
 III, xvii. Reference to him.
- Wesley, Samuel. V, 197. Bodmer acknowledges receipt from Hagedorn of Samuel Wesley's *Poems*.
- Winchilsea, Lady. II, v. Cites *Ardelia* from *Miscellany Poems* (London, 1713), pp. 73-83, as one of the sources of *Das geraubte Schäfchen*.
 II, vi. Cites *Miscellany Poems*, p. 254, as one of the sources of *Der Löwe und die Mücke*.
 II, vii. Cites *Miscellany Poems*, pp. 212, as one of the sources of *Der Adler, die Sau und die Katze*.
- Wollaston. I, 72, footnote 25. Reference to *Religion of Nature*, §§ 3-6.
- Young. I, xxviii. Quotes from his *Love of Fame*, Sat. I.
 V, 146. Reference to Ebert's translation of *Night Thoughts*.

COLLECTIONS, ETC.

- II, viii. Reference to *Common Sense, or, the Englishman's Journal*, of the year 1737, Nos. 34, 35, as one of the sources of *Apollo und Minerva*.
- III, 129, footnote 1. Reference to *Common Sense*, etc., III, 280-81.
- III, xxiii. Reference to the English collections, *The Vocal Miscellany*, *Calliope*, *The Choice*, *The Syren*, *The Lark*, etc.

PROVERBS, ETC.

- V, 63. Quotes, "Never a faint heart won a fair lady."
 V, 96. Quotes, "That each good author is as good a friend."
 V, 105. Quotes, "What authors lose, their booksellers have won;
 So pimps grow rich, while gallants are undone."
 V, 121. Quotes, "The greatest monarch may be stabbed by night,
 And fortune help the murderer in his flight," etc.
 V, 141. Quotes, "One moral, or a mere well-natur'd deed,
 Can all desert in sciences exceed."

BERTHA REED COFFMAN

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